THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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Elaine Brown, Dennis Banks Highlight Protest

1,500 RALLY TO FREE A.I.M. ACTIVISTS



BPINS photos

Black Panther Party chairperson ELAINE BROWN and American Indian Movement leader DENNIS BANKS were featured speakers at last week's march and rally to free Native American political prisoners.

(Sacramento, Calif.) - In what was one of the largest demonstrations in memory to support Native American rights, close to 1,500 people assembled here last week to participate in a spirited and moving march and rally demanding the release of American Indian Movement (AIM) activists imprisoned throughout the United States.

In particular, the demonstration focused on the case of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, two AIM leaders falsely accused of murder in racist Ventura County. Related demands put forth at the rally included:

•Stop all FBI and repressive attacks on Indian people; and

•Support self-determination, sovereignty and independence for Indian Nations.

Also, organizers of the demonstration announced that they are going to begin a major drive to petition President Carter to establish a National Indian Judicial Review Committee to review the cases of many Native American people victimized by the American courts, and to grant pardons for those unjustly incarcerated.

Featured speakers at the rally, held in the Capitol Mall under warm and sunny skies, were Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party; Dennis Banks, national AIM leader and presently an instructor at D-Q University in Davis, California; Lehman Brightman, president of United Native Americans; and Ken Littlefish, an AIM leader from the Los Angeles area.

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Editorial

COMMUNITY OF VICTIMS UNITING

"I think that it's important that we get together, Black people, Indian people, poor people, oppressed people throughout this country, that we concentrate issue by issue, and never forget there's a larger issue — that the real enemy of us all are the capitalists and imperialists of this country."

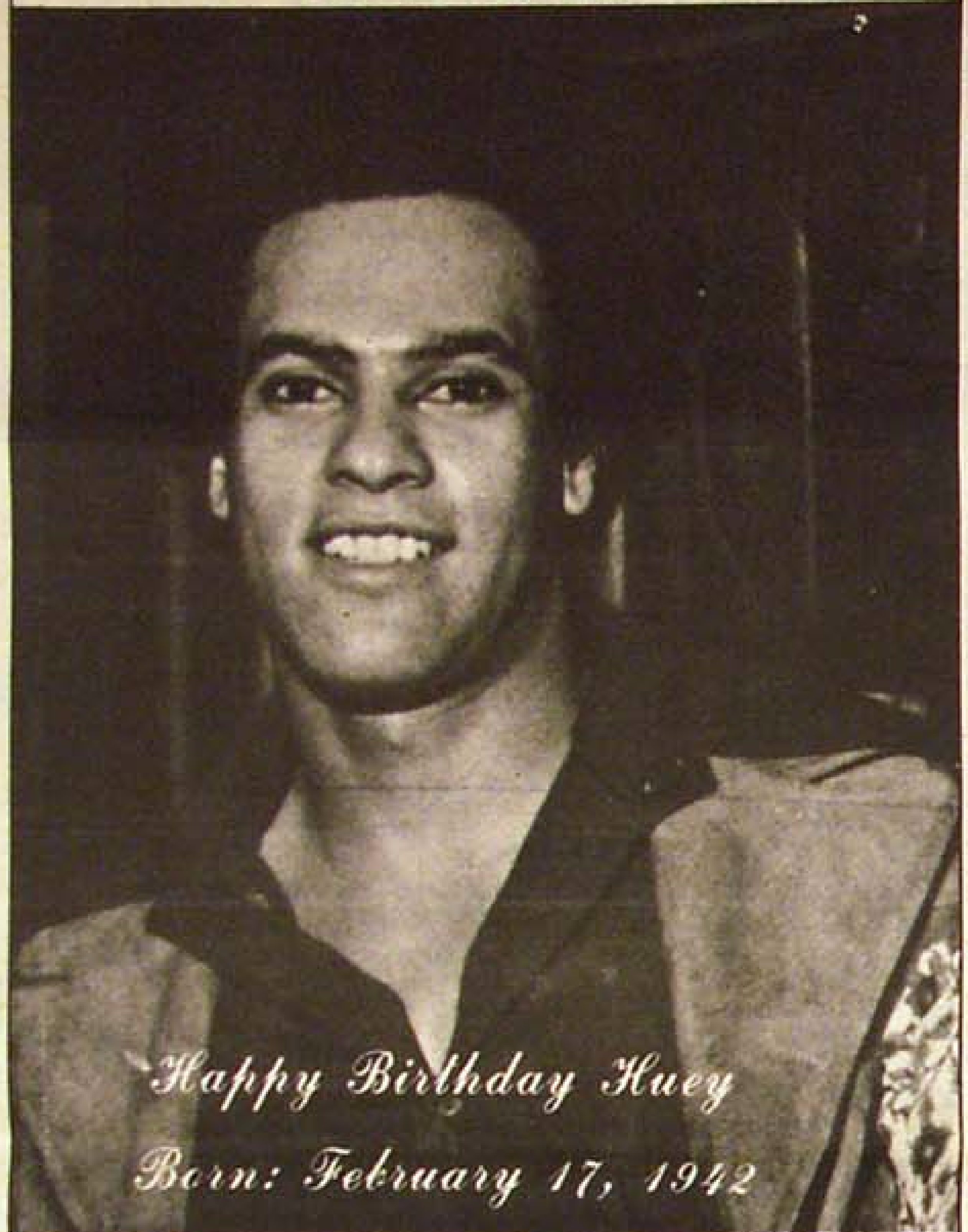
So spoke Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown at last Friday's march and rally to Free American Indian Movement activists, voicing the theme that links what can be regarded as our community of victims; the myth of the "melting pot" that never quite mellowed, finally, inevitably, getting together under the shadow of the Empire, banding together to topple the tyrants, to free the people.

However you say it, uniting to defeat the common enemy, that's the name of the game.

But just as we have to see the forest, so too, we can't forget the trees, down to each separate leaf. The concerns of our times are many and varied, each with their own particulars, each representing, at the bottom line, a human life, whose dignity and sanctity we refuse to allow to be trampted upon by brutes acting in the name of profit and war.

We must raise the serious questions, "issue by issue" as Elaine put it, to "Free Huey," to "Free Johnny Spain," to "Free the Camp Pendleton 14," to "Free Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk," to free all of our friends and comrades from the San Quentin Prisons and Robben Islands throughout the world. And sure, we can act to "Free All Political Prisoners" too, when we have labeled our causes by categories, but least we forget that behind each grouping lies a single, pulsing human heart. . . and before us all stalks the nightmare monster, an undiscriminating American Empire and its rulers. □

FREE HUEY



All Power To The People

Letters to the Editor

REIDSVILLE PRISON: GEORGIA SLAVE CAMP

Dear Editor,

We, the conscientious inmates of Georgia State Prison at Reidsville, Georgia, are writing this letter to open the mind eyes of the public to the war that we have behind the walls and fences of this "Georgia slave camp." This state has a history of cruel and barbaric brutality against Black inmates in this correctional system. The prejudiced racism has come to a record high point at Georgia State Prison.

Nothing has changed since the decade of the thirties (1935) as far as this racist mentality is concerned. It is still fierce and eager to injure Bilalian (Black) inmates whenever they can, and make it look justifiable.

On November 9, 1976 at approximately 3:10 p.m., at the backgate of the Georgia State Prison, three officers attacked inmate Robert L. Morris, Jr. He was sick with pneumonia at this time (note: the temperature was approximately 50 degrees), and preferred to be searched with his clothes on rather than take the risk of stripping himself out of his clothes, for fear of his illness worsening. From that beating inmate Robert L. Morris, Jr., has his head injuries and a broken leg. He also is Black.

On November 12, 1976, between the time of 7:30 and 7:50 a.m., Friday morning; three Black inmates were killed in a racial uprising by the people who claim to be the administration, by their lack of concern, interest, protective security and their racist mentality towards Black inmates. Three Bilalian inmates were killed; at least eight other inmates were severely injured by a group of surprise attacking and well armed White inmates, who had such weapons as homemade knives, butcher knives, axes, lawn motor blades, and long speared-shape weapons. Witnesses saw officers give White inmates knives during the week of the 12th of November, which they used in the killing of three Black inmates at this institutional slave camp. These low moral principled people of this administration aggravate, agitate, and stimulate

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COMMENT

The Ballot Or The Bullet

By Malcolm X

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents excerpts from Malcolm X's famous speech, "The Ballot or The Bullet," made on April 3, 1964, at Cory Methodist Church in Cleveland, Ohio. This address, reprinted from Malcolm X Speaks, *is presented as the third in a four part series appearing throughout February in honor of Black History Month and in commemoration of Brother Malcolm's assassination on February 21, 1965.*

I'm not here tonight to discuss anything that we differ about, because it's time for us to submerge our differences and realize that it is best for us to first see that we have the same problem, a common problem — a problem that will make you catch hell whether you're a Baptist, or a Methodist, or a Muslim, or a nationalist.

Whether you're educated or illiterate, whether you live on the boulevard or in the alley, you're going to catch hell just like I am. We're all in the same boat and we all are going to catch the same hell from the same man. He just happens to be a White man. All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the White man, economic exploitation at the hands of the White man, and social degradation at the hands of the White man.

Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-White, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the White man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us.

If we don't do something real soon, I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet. It's one or the other in 1964. It isn't that time is running out — time has run out! 1964 threatens to be the most explosive year America has ever

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Carter, Artis Refused New Trial, Receive Life Sentences Again

(Paterson, N.J.) - Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis were given life sentences for the second time in 10 years as Passaic County Judge Bruno Leopizzi refused to grant the two Black men a new trial last week.

Leopizzi sentenced Carter, a former number one middleweight boxing contender, to two consecutive life terms and one concurrent life term. Artis received three concurrent life terms.

Under New Jersey law, in which a life sentence carries a mandatory 14 years in prison, Carter will not be eligible until 1982.

Carter blasted the court, stating, "There is not one scintilla of evidence or anyone on the face of this earth that says John Artis or Rubin Carter did murder these people.

"John Artis and Rubin Carter did not, would not and could not commit such a crime. In my opinion we have an animal running around loose here. We were tried because we were Black."



RUBIN "Hurricane" CARTER and JOHN ARTIS were recently framed for the second time in ten years on false murder charges.

Carter and Artis were convicted for the second time recently on false charges resulting from the murder of three White bar patrons in Paterson's Lafayette Bar and Grille on June 17, 1966, at 2:30 a.m.

Carter and Artis were free on bail for eight months after serving nine years in New Jersey prisons for a crime they did not commit. □

DISCREDITED FORMER STATES' ATTORNEY UNLEASHED ASSASSINATION UNIT

HANRAHAN TESTIFIES AT FRED HAMPTON MURDER TRIAL

(Chicago, Ill.) - Following a week's recess to allow Ed Hanrahan to set up his fledgling campaign for mayor of Chicago, the man felt by many as being personally responsible for the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, finally took the stand last week in the celebrated $47.7 million civil lawsuit filed by the Hampton-Clark families.

The scenario that followed, despite constant squabbling between defense attorneys and the trial judge, is essential to the plaintiffs' contention that federal, state and local officials conspired to destroy the Black Panther Party and murder Fred Hampton and Mark Clark as part of the FBI's COINTELPRO operation.

In 1969, while the FBI, through its informant William O'Neal, gathered information, including a diagram of the apartment where Fred Hampton lived, with an X marking the spot where he slept, and made their plans, Edward Hanrahan, as Cook County state's attorney, was involved in his own private war with Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party. For Hanrahan, whose political base was in the southwestern and northwestern portions of the city, support from Chicago's Black community will be vital for any future political campaign he may want to launch.



Fallen Comrade FRED HAMPTON.

And so, through the power he held as state's attorney and with the use of the police force, he had at his disposal, Hanrahan launched his own war on crime.

But Fred Hampton, more than six months before his untimely death, identified Hanrahan as an enemy of the Black and oppressed community in his self-proclaimed role as chief enforcer. In fact, Fred pointed out, Chicago was quickly developing a sophisticated police state apparatus and Hanrahan was leading the bandwagon. During this period in Chicago, the two DeSoto brothers were murdered by police; the gangs who had taken a move toward social change and social action and who had participated in winning gains for Black people in the city's segregated construction union, were under violent attack by the Gang Intelligence Unit, spurred on by Hanrahan; and, of course, the attacks against the progressive survival programs and especially the Breakfast for Children Program of the Black Panther Party which were at their height.

Hanrahan's mission at this time, according to his own words taken from grand jury testimony May 4, 1970, and read into the record last week:

"And they tried to demonstrate throughout the community the interests of the state's attorney's office in working with those persons who sought to do something to maintain a civilized, safe society in the sections of our city where most of the fear of crime occurs.

"And in doing that work, we have realized that our major problem is to combat and overcome antipolice, antigovernment propaganda repeatedly and professionally issued by the Black Panther Party. It was the result of that awareness that this incident

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In Memoriam

MALCOLM X

Assassinated:

February 21, 1965



"If you knew him you would know why we must honor him: Malcolm was our manhood, our living Black manhood. This was his meaning to his people. And, in honoring him, we honor the best in ourselves..."

—OSSIE DAVIS, in his eulogy of MALCOLM X

1,500 Rally To Free A.I.M. Activists

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Also speaking were: Wahat Tampao, representing the embattled I-Hotel Tenants in San Francisco; Prosper Takewere, reading a solidarity statement from the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU); Henry Domingus, an AIM leader from the San Jose area, where a national boycott of Holiday Inns has recently been launched for desecrating Native American remains and artifacts found while escavating for a new hotel; Sarah Hutchinson, a founder of D-Q University, a unique and creative private institution for Indian and Chicano peoples; and Melinda Rorick, representing the Native American Solidarity Committee.

Entertainment was provided by Marina Garcia, a talented and gifted Chicano folk singer, and Theatro de la Gente, a Chicano/Indian cultural group from San Jose.

The march began at the Sacramento American Center around 11:00 a.m., with the ritual playing and chanting of the AIM national anthem on ceremonial drums.

Prior to the beginning of the rally, MC'ed with aplomb and dignity by Dennis Banks, Ernie Peters, an AIM medicine man, led a group of Native Americans in a sacred ceremony of passing the pipe.

The first speaker for the two and a half hour rally, Ken Littlefish, provided details on the Skyhorse/Mohawk case.

Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk, Littlefish explained, have been in jail in Ventura County since October, 1974, facing the death penalty for charges that they murdered a taxi driver at a secret AIM encampment. Their case, he said, is part of the FBI conspiracy to destroy the American Indian Movement and its leaders.

Three people arrested at the scene of the murder, covered with blood and with a bloody knife in their possession, have all been granted immunity, set up with jobs and government loans — all in exchange for their testimony against Skyhorse and Mohawk.

Making matters worse, Littlefish said, the racist Ventura Bar Association has seen fit to attempt to make a mockery of the case, performing an inane skit, "The People vs. Tonto," at a recent banquet. Condemnation has been so heavy that all the judges but one have disqualified themselves.

Respect and admiration for Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown ran deep through the crowd during her speech:

"I would like to talk about Brothers like Johnny Spain, who is now facing life imprisonment because of all kinds of things that happened in the San Quentin 6 trial and the conspiracy on the part of the government against him. I would like to talk about Huey P. Newton and the fact that he is in exile for false charges.

"But I think that we need to concentrate on issues. We can get together at other times to talk about other things. I'm here to talk about the freedom of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk — that's what we need to concentrate our efforts on today.

"It's true that we're lucky to be here in the California sunshine, that we're not enclosed and incarcerated right here, right now, inside of a prison, but we are inside the prison of the United States of America and we can never forget that — despite the sunshine. I think that we have to recognize, therefore, our common goal with Brothers Skyhorse and Mohawk. We have to realize that.

"A lot of us have been watching a film and reading a book called *Roots*. A lot of Black people suffered on the crossing coming to this country when we never asked to come here. We've been suffering ever since. Well, the real roots of this country are full of blood and murder — the blood and murder, the rape, of the Indian people. And none of us can ever forget that. There will never be a way to forgive or understand the thousands, hundreds of thousands and literally millions of Indian people murdered by the government of this country.

"So it shouldn't come as any shock to us that two more Indian brothers are now in jail on false charges, and that some of the people that ought to be with us have turned against us to justify the government's constant plot to get rid of any people who stand up for what is rightfully theirs. This country belongs to the people who were here in the beginning, long before syphillitic Europeans came. . .

"I think that it's important that we get together, Black people, Indian people, poor people, oppresed people, throughout this country, that we concentrate issue by issue and never forget there's a larger issue — that the real enemy of all of us are the capitalists and imperialists of this country.

"So, for today, we've got to make some serious moves. We can't allow a racist Bar Association to depict the situation in such a way. We have to fight those things, we have to fight every way that we can. And if it's with a peace pipe or with a gun, we'll have to make some decisions on that. We will have to free Mohawk and Skyhorse. Power to the People."

For Lehman Brightman, the "double standard of justice is a matter of life and death."

For example, Brightman said, in South Dakota, Native Americans make up five per cent of the total population, yet number 30 to 40 per cent of the prison population. In Minnesota, Indian people are only one per cent of the population, yet are 20 to 25 per cent of the prison population.

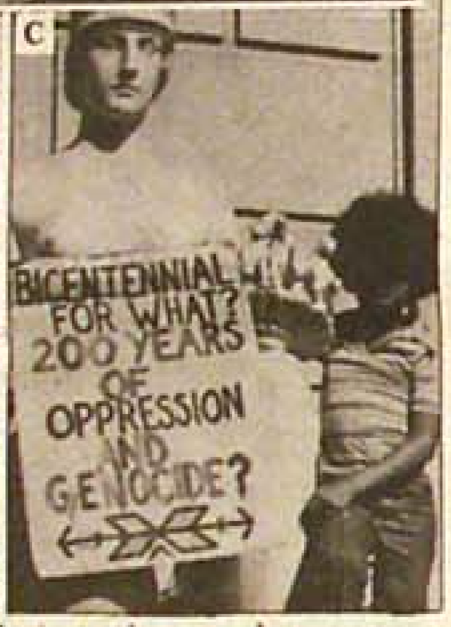
Citing the attempts to foster the "psychological, cultural and physical genocide" of Indian people, Brightman concluded by saying, "Every foot of this country is stained with Indian blood; and it's up to us to protect what so many others have died for. Remember, you're an Indian — and be proud of it."

Shortly later, the rally itself ended on a moving and significant note: the entire crowd joined hand in a Great Circle of Unity, as Marina Garcia led a huge chorus of "We Shall Overcome."□

A


B


D


C


E


(A) ELAINE BROWN addresses crowd, (B) Chicano folksinger MARINA GARCIA, (C) Young supporter of Indian rights, (D) Group chanting AIM national anthem prior to march and (E) Free Skyhorse, Mohawk and Peltier.

BPINS photos

Oakland Investments In South Africa Challenged

$16 Million Invested In Corporations That Prop Up Apartheid

(Oakland, Calif.) — The city of Oakland has over $16 million invested in corporations that operate in South Africa, it was recently revealed here. In at least three corporate shareholder meetings, the city, through its investments consultant, voted against resolutions that would have weakened U.S. business interests in Namibia (South West Africa), Guinea-Bissau (ruled by Portugal at the time) and South Africa.

The funds Oakland has invested in southern Africa come from the Police and Retirement System and the Municipal Employees Retirement System. In addition, six of the top 11 employers in Alameda County, including Kaiser, Del Monte and General Motors, do business in South Africa.



BPINS photo

Oakland City Hall.

The General Motors Acceptance Company, Gardner-Denver Company, Ford Motor Credit Company, Atlantic Richfield Company, the IBM Corporation, Bristol-Myers Company, and Aetna Life and Casualty are the seven companies who operate in South Africa in which the city of Oakland has the largest investments. City industrial bonds investments in General Motors total $1,491,250, Ford Motor Credit, $1,000,625 and Gardner-Denver, $992,390. Stock investments in Atlantic Richfield total $848,135.51, IBM, $808,482.58, Bristol-Myers, $777,562.86, and Aetna Life and Casualty, $760,045.89.

Other U.S. corporations in which the city of Oakland has substantial retirement funds invested are Holiday Inns of America, the U.S. Steel Corporation, Monsanto Company, FMC Corporation, Armco Steel Corporation, Caterpillar Tractor Company, and Pfizer, Inc.

At shareholder meetings in 1974, the Oakland investments consultant representing Continental Oil voted against a resolution to prohibit company investments in Namiba, which is illegally ruled by South Africa. In addition, at an Exxon shareholder meeting Oakland opposed a resolution to end company investments in Guinea-Bissau, which was ruled by Portugal at the time and at an IBM meeting voted against a resolution to set up a South Africa investments review committee.

Through its retirement pension investments in U.S. multinational corporations that do business in South Africa, the city of Oakland

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BULLETIN

As we go to press, Paul Cobb, executive director of OCCUR, the city of Oakland's official citizens' participation lobby, has been unjustly fired. See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for details.



BPINS photo

RALPH WILLIAMS, from the Community Action Committee, forcefully demanded that the Oakland School Board end bias in hiring and promotions.

BLACK WORKERS CONFRONT OAKLAND SCHOOL BOARD OVER BIAS

(Oakland, Calif.) - Black workers in the Oakland School District's Buildings and Grounds Department converged on an Oakland Board of Education meeting this week to demand an immediate halt to long-standing, blatant bias in personnel hiring and promotion.

Acting as spokesperson for the group, Ralph Williams of the Community Action Committee warned the Board that an explosive situation exists in the school district's Buildings and Grounds Department.

Williams read a statement to the Board which said, "It is our general understanding and observation that the promotion and hiring of personnel within the Buildings and Grounds Department is conducted without regard to the school district's ethnic composition, as stipulated by the 1975-76 rules and regulations governing employers and classified employees. Section 1800.2a states, 'It is the policy of the Board to seek racial, ethnic and sex balance that is consistent with the racial, ethnic and sex composition of the district.

"If Section 1800.2a," the statement continued, "is adhered to just slightly, certainly one's intelligence would enable you, the Board, the community and the school district to see, as we see, that the (racial) complexion of workers in the Buildings and Grounds Department is totally imbalanced."

Williams stated emphatically that if there is no immediate action, "The next step will involve tie-up litigations and other actions that are sure to follow.

"What is being jeopardized here," said Williams, "is the livelihood of these men and their families."

The statement, which was given to the school Board, lists such demands:

1) The promotion of Blacks and minority personnel to supervisory positions;

2) The posting of all vacancies in positions and of all departmental promotions;

3) An end to the policy of placing one foreman over several, separate departments; negating the possibility of minority promotions;

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Dymally Backs Wilson For Mayor

(Oakland, Calif.) - The frontrunning campaign of Alameda County Superior Court Judge LIONEL WILSON (left) for mayor of Oakland received a major boost last week when California Lieutenant Governor MERVYN DYMALLY announced his "unequivocal" support of Judge Wilson's election bid. BPINS photo

ENERGY COMPANIES PLOT AGAINST CONSUMERS

(New York, N.Y.) - Millions of Americans will suffer due to the severely cold weather which has plagued extensive sections of the country, while, according to a *Militant* report, energy companies are deliberately conspiring to manipulate and deregulate interstate gas prices.

The huge energy monopoly is withholding gas from the market as part of their drive to end government regulations on gas prices. While this gas is being withheld:

•Old people are freezing to death in unheated apartments;

•Hundreds of thousands have unheated homes;

•Schools and factories are closed with over two million workers laid off due to fuel shortages.

PRESENT LAWS

Under present laws, the price of intrastate gas — gas that is produced and sold in the same state — is not controlled, reports the *Militant*. In Texas, for example, gas is selling at about two dollars per thousand cubic feet.

Interstate gas produced in state and sold elsewhere has a federal price ceiling of $1.42 per thousand cubic feet.

One Houston oil owner commented, "For $1.42 I wouldn't even go out and drill the holes. We wouldn't even consider it. It's simply not commercial."

Natural gas accounts for 30 per cent of this country's energy consumption, heats half of the homes in this country, and provides about half of the energy used by industry. But natural gas is also controlled by the same huge corporations that dominate the world oil market and who are tightening their grip on other energy sources, such as uranium and coal. Exxon is the biggest, producing about 20 per cent of this country's natural gas while Texaco is the second largest.

For several years, especially since the 1973 "oil shortage" these companies warned of an impending gas shortage, a shortage that could only be averted by higher prices.

Texaco President John McKinley, stated clearly the desires of the energy industry saying, "All domestic price controls, which have been in effect on natural gas since 1954 and on crude oil and petroleum products since 1971, should be removed as quickly as possible."



Two elderly Black men froze to death in their Harlem apartments (above). Natural gas companies refuse to ship across state lines because prices are too low.

Known facts, however, tend to show that this alleged "gas shortage" is a fraud:

•A 1974 Ford Foundation study, the "Energy Policy Project," estimated that the undiscovered recoverable gas reserves of the U.S. are 1,000 to 2,000 trillion cubic feet — a 100-year supply.

•Congressional testimony has revealed earlier cases where the industry has deliberately curtailed gas distribution to drive prices up.

•Natural gas production has been cut back steadily from 24 trillion cubic feet in 1973 (when oil prices spiraled rapidly) to only 21.1 trillion cubic feet in 1975.

•The gas that is produced has been withheld by the energy trust from the interstate markets where it is desperately needed.

Tom Girard of the Energy Action Committee called it "a fuel crisis created by the producers. They are deliberately creating a shortage interstate while making a huge surplus intrastate. In 1975, they dedicated 87 per cent of the new gas found to the intrastate market.

"So they have a ready-made situation," says Girard, "when they can stroll down to the Federal Power Commission and say, 'Gee, fellas, we're in short supply but let us sell our intrastate reserves for five times the regulated price.' "

James Flug, the director of the Energy Action Committee, commented, "The oil and gas companies have no interest in dealing with the current emergency. The more people who are cold and out of work, the easier it is to stampede the nation into a deregulation frenzy."□

Investments In So. Africa Challenged

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is directly contributing to the oppression of Black South African (Azanian) workers. In reality, the money of Oakland workers is being used to suppress their Black counterparts in South Africa.

Progressive organizations are calling for the immediate withdrawal of the money of city workers from companies who perpetuate the White apartheid regime in South Africa. Activities are scheduled in Oakland on March 25-26 in support of the International Days of Protest Against Apartheid which has been organized by the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Interested persons are invited to participate.□

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

So. African Ads O.K.

(New York, N.Y.) - The New York State Court of Appeals ruled 5 to 2 last week that newspapers can publish advertisements of employment opportunities in South Africa.

Swine Flu Shots Resumed

Despite nearly 100 deaths and crippling side effects, the federal government last week announced it would resume its flu vaccination program — to "high risk" patients only. The resumption of the vaccination program, in spite of its disastrous results before it was halted last year, allegedly has been spurred by the outbreak of A-Victoria flu in a Florida nursing home. Elderly or chronically ill patients will be injected with a "bivalent" serum, a combination of both swine flu and A-Victoria vaccine. The government's rationale is that "high risk" patients have a much greater chance of dying from the Victoria flu than from the swine flu vaccine or the Guillian-Barre syndrome, which paralyzed and killed 15 vaccinated people last year.

D.N.A. Safety?

(Washington, D.C.) - The Commerce Department ruled recently that companies may apply for accelerated patents on creation of new forms of life in the laboratory that some scientists say could seriously endanger humans. The ruling bypasses a major safety guideline laid down by the National Institutes of Health concerning DNA research, and encourages private industries to carry out genetic research without reporting in advance their plans so they can avoid screening for safety.

"Sordid Care And Neglect"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - California's largest nursing home was charged by the San Francisco district attorney's office last week with a "sordid history of inadequate health care and patient neglect." A Superior Court suit against the Post Street Convalescent Hospital said the facility "failed to give patients proper medications, improperly tied patients to chairs for several hours and left patients unattended with bed sores and in pools of human waste."



Clevelc id steel plant.

SADLOWSKI DEFEATED

Union Rebel Charges Fraud In Steelworker Elections

(Chicago, Ill.) - Rebel labor leader Ed Sadlowski charged fraud and refused to concede defeat last week in the United Steelworkers Union election.

However, succeeding I.W. Abel, the architect of a no-strike agreement with the nation's steel producers, apparently will be Lloyd McBride, his hand-picked successor.

Sadlowski's campaign highly upset the conservative AFL-CIO leadership, its president, George Meany, as well as the nation's industry leaders. The Chicago-raised steelworker pledged to abolish the no-strike agreement, decentralize the power of the 1.4 million-member union, and in his words, "take the union back for the workers."

LEADERSHIP

The United Steelworkers of America, under the leadership of Abel, entered into an arrangement called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) with the nation's steel producers in 1973. Under this pact, the union's right to strike was signed away for a mere bonus per man of $150 to its members.

Also, through the policies Joint Productivity Boards (composed of union officials and company officers) established by Abel, job combinations, speed-ups and forced overtime have resulted in the permanent loss of 65,000 jobs and 275,000 steelworkers laid off.

Sadlowski began his campaign in September, 1976, with stiff opposition coming from the hierarchy of the United Steelworkers and the AFL-CIO.□

ESCAPEE TELLS TALES OF BRUTALITY AND INTIMIDATION

BLACK FARMWORKERS TRAPPED IN SLAVERY

(Durham, N.C.) - For William Quill, a 63-year-old Black man, penniless and unemployed, the farm labor contractor's offer sounded like a good deal: picking sweet potatoes in Johnston County for 75 cents a bushel, living quarters and good food provided.

Instead, he faced five weeks of slavery, the *Guardian* reports.

"When we got there I was shocked. The mattresses were filthy. . .no glass in the windows. . . .no heat at night. . .and the food was terrible." The bed Quill slept in at night was a urine-stained, worn mattress on a cold floor, with no sheets.

Work began at 5:30 a.m. and often continued until 10:30 p.m. There was time out for lunch and dinner if Quill and the others could eat what was offered. Often they could not. It was hard work, all day at a steady pace.

The food was bad. Breakfast was "hominy grits with grease, and sometimes a piece of sausage the size of your little finger.

"For lunch," Quill explained, "they would give us bread with some kind of cheese spread that you could hardly eat. Most of the time I didn't. Then dinner would be chitterlings which sometimes had pork worms (hook worms)."

Forced to work long hours without eating, Quill explained that to keep going, "The only thing I had was wine which Wilson (the contractor) charged us two dollars a pint."

Quill said he couldn't leave the camp because "Frank Wilson, Jr., had said that he would kill anyone that tried to."

On one occasion, one worker left the camp early one morning and caught a ride for a few miles. He was let out of the car at a rural intersection where Wilson caught up with him and forced him back to camp at the point of a .38 caliber revolver. The runaway was then taken out into the woods and whipped.

Quill reported that everyone in the camp was afraid of the Wilsons, who had a reputation as the most ruthless crew leaders on the East Coast. The Wilsons, five brothers and their father, have been operating farm labor camps for some time.



Southern Black sharecroppers struggle in field. An escaped Black "slave" recently exposed modern-day bondage in North Carolina.

Last April, two workers escaped from a camp run by three of the Wilson brothers (Ivory, Roscoe, and Jimmy) in Florida, to tell a similar tale of beatings, forced labor and being kept in the camp at gun point. The workers had been recruited in North Carolina to pick sweet potatoes and later were forced to go with the Wilsons to new camps in Florida.

Wilson brothers Ivory and Roscoe were convicted in October of holding migrant workers in involuntary servitude and sentenced to three years in federal prison. They are still free pending appeal.

Neither Quill nor any of the others at the camp — so far as he knows — ever got paid for their work. Quill said he was told by one experienced migrant that "one evening when the wine would be passed out, everybody would get drunk and the next morning the Wilsons would be gone (without paying the crew)."

Quill eventually decided to escape, despite fears of being killed if he tried. He stole away from camp before sunrise one morning, "and I hid in the woods until everyone had gone into the fields to work then walked several miles in the deep ditches so they would not find me."

After escaping, Quill returned to Durham. In January he brought his story to the *Carolina Times*, a Black weekly, "because we need to do something about this kind of thing so it can be done away with."□

Private Research Firm Exposes False Government Jobless Figures

(Media, Pa.) — A private research firm here, Sindlinger and Company, revealed last week that three million more Americans lost their jobs in January than were reported by the U.S. Labor Department.

UNEMPLOYMENT

A Sindlinger newsletter said unemployment was 11.6 per cent, or more than 11 million people out of work, and that unemployment actually rose one per cent from December, while the Labor Department reported January unemployment had dropped one-half of one per cent.

NEWSLETTER

According to the newsletter, the government failed to account for those who lost jobs due to the severe winter weather in the eastern and midwestern portions of the nation since it used data taken before the harsh weather began. Also, said Sindlinger, government calculating methods and the use of incomplete data also contributed to the false unemployment figures.

Sindlinger said his firm has conducted daily employment surveys by telephone in 48 states at the rate of 1,100 calls per week for the past 20 years. In contrast, the Labor Department bases its monthly reports on a sample week adjusted seasonally according to historical data from the past five years.

Sindlinger does not use seasonally adjusted figures and claims the adjusted figures in the government's listing are artificially low.□

The Ballot Or The Bullet

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

witnessed.

The most explosive year. Why? It's also a political year. It's the year when all of the White politicians will be back in the so-called Negro community jiving you and me for some votes. The year when all the White political crooks will be right back in your and my community with their false promises, building up our hopes for a letdown, with their trickery and their treachery, with their false promises which they don't intend to keep. As they nourish these dissatisfactions, it can only lead to one thing, an explosion; and now we have the type of Black man on the scene in America today who just doesn't turn the other cheek any longer.

ODDS

Don't let anybody tell you anything about the odds are against you. If they draft you, they send you to Korea and make you face 800 million Chinese. If you can be brave over there, you can be brave right here.

Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Why, if birth made you American, you wouldn't need any legislation, you wouldn't need any amendments to the Constitution, you wouldn't be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right now. They don't have to pass civil-rights legislation to make a Polack an American.

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver — no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see what they used to only look at. They're becoming politically mature. They are realizing that there are new political trends.

And now you're facing a situation where the young Negro's coming up. They don't want to hear that "turn-the-other-cheek" stuff, no. In Jacksonville, those were teenagers, they were throwing Molotov cocktails. Negroes have never done that before. But it shows you there's a new deal coming in. There's new thinking coming in. There's new strategy coming in. It'll be Molotov cocktails this month, hand grenades next month, and something else next month. It'll be ballots, or it'll be bullets. It'll be liberty, or it will be death. The only difference about this kind of death — it'll be reciprocal. You know what is meant by "reciprocal"? That's one of Brother Lomax's words, I stole it from him. I don't usually deal with those big words because I don't usually deal with big people. I deal with small people. I find you can get a whole lot of small people and whip hell out of a whole lot of big people. They haven't got anything to lose, and they've got everything to gain. And they'll let you know in a minute: "It takes two to tango; when I go, you go."

I might stop right here to point out one thing. Whenever you're going after something that belongs to you, anyone who's depriving you of the right to have it is a criminal. Understand that.

Now, who is it that opposes you in carrying out the law? The police department itself. With police dogs and clubs. Whenever you demonstrate against segregation, whether it is segregated education, segregated housing, or anything else, the law is on your side, and anyone who stands in the way is not the law any longer. They are breaking the law, they are not representatives of the law. Any time you demonstrate against segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police dog on you, kill that dog, kill him, I'm telling you, kill that dog. I say it, if they put me in jail tomorrow, kill — that — dog. Then you'll put a stop to it. Now, if these White people in here don't want to see that kind of action, get down and tell the mayor to tell the police department to pull the dogs in. That's all you have to do. If you don't do it, someone will.

"I Am One Of The 22 Million Black People Who Are The Victims Of Americanism. . .I Don't See Any American Dream; I See An American Nightmare."



MALCOLM X

If you don't take this kind of stand, your little children will grow up and look at you and think "shame." If you don't take an uncompromising stand — I don't mean go out and get violent; but at the same time you should never be nonviolent unless you run into some nonviolence. I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. But when you drop that violence on me, then you've made me go insane, and I'm not responsible for what I do. And that's the way every Negro should get. Any time you know you're within the law, within your legal rights, within your moral rights, in accord with justice, then die for what you believe in. But don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. This is what is meant by equality. What's good for the goose is good for the gander.

Let the world know how bloody his hands are. Let the world know the hypocrisy that's practiced over here. Let it be the ballot or the bullet. Let him know that it must be the ballot or the bullet.

Last but not least, I must say this concerning the great controversy over rifles and shotguns. The only thing that I've ever said is that in areas where the government has proven itself either unwilling or unable to defend the lives and the property of Negroes, it's time for Negroes to defend themselves. Article number two of the Constitutional Amendments provides you and me the right to own a rifle or a shotgun. It is Constitutionally legal to own a shotgun or a rifle.

Don't go out shooting people, but any time, brothers and sisters, especially the men in this audience — some of you wearing Congressional Medals of Honor, with shoulders this wide, chests this big, muscles that big — any time you and I sit around and read where they bomb a church and murder in cold blood, not some grownups, but four little girls while they were praying to the same god the White man taught them to pray to, and you and I see the government go down and can't find who did it.

Why, this man — he can find Eichmann hiding down in Argentina somewhere. Let two or three American soldiers, who are minding somebody else's business way over in South Vietnam, get killed, and he'll send battleships, sticking his nose in their business. He wanted to send troops down to Cuba and make them have what he calls free elections — this old cracker who doesn't have free elections in his own country. No, if you never see me another time in your life, if I die in the morning, I'll die saying one thing: the ballot or the bullet, the ballot or the bullet. □



Inmates care for wounded prisoner during uprising at N.C. women's prison.

"WAR WITHOUT TERMS"

Inmate At N.C. Women's Prison Appeals For Support

In the following letter, received last week by THE BLACK PANTHER, Ms. Shirley J. Herlth, a Black inmate incarcerated at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women, makes a vivid and poignant plea for support in the face of rampant guard brutality and violence.

"I am writing this letter in hopes of seeking some relief for the population of women incarcerated at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women in Raleigh, North Carolina.

"The past three weeks at this prison have been sheer chaos in the segregation building (Dorm C). Saturday, January 15, 1977, an inmate in Dorm C was sick. Simultaneously, a prison patsy, Linda Weaver, set her cell afire, not considering the fatal possibilities. Another inmate, Kathy Stokes, was also in this cell while it was afire.

"Inmates attempting to get the officer's attention so Barbara Williams could get medical attention, and to get Kathy Stokes out of that burning cell, were taken handcuffed by the goon squad to security and isolation lock-up. These two 'places,' which are supposed to be padlocked and condemned since December 14, 1976, when the nude, hanging body of inmate/sista Leslie Davis was discovered about 11:00 p.m., were still in use and waiting for us.

"Disciplinary charges were brought against:

- "Linda Weaver — charged with destroying state property, disorderly conduct.
- "Joyce Belton — charged with destroying state property, participation in a mutiny, riot or insurrection.
- "Kathy Stokes — charged with two counts of profane language.

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FRANK HORN, FIRST BLACK OFFICER ON FORCE, TESTIFIES AT COMMUNITY MEETING

EX-COP EXPOSES RACISM IN BIRMINGHAM POLICE DEPARTMENT

(Birmingham, Ala.) - In some of the most powerful testimony heard in this city in recent times, ex-Birmingham police officer Frank Horn described in great detail the racism, brutality and corruption of the Birmingham Police Department at a meeting on "Problems of Police Conduct and Community Response."

According to Horn, he had returned from Vietnam in the mid-60s to find that Birmingham still had no Black police officers. He was determined to become the first and prove that it could be done. In February, 1965, Horn took the qualifying exam and scored 96 per cent. A score of 70 per cent was required but nonetheless Horn was forced to take the test a second time to prove that he had not cheated. The second time, he scored 98 per cent and was forced to take the test a third time. This time, he scored 99 per cent and was finally placed on the eligible roll.

However, he was not called for seven months although he clearly had the highest qualifying score. He later found out that this was because he was being investigated throughout his community by the police. When the investigation demonstrated that Horn was "qualified to become a police officer," he was then quizzed about whether he was a member of the NAACP, SCLC, or any similar group. Although he was a member of several organizations, he hid this fact, was given a badge and a gun, and put into action as an undercover agent for the vice squad — all on the same day and without ever receiving a minute's worth of training.



Racist police terrorizing Black community. In Birmingham, Alabama, an ex-cop recently exposed widespread corruption in his department.

During this time, Horn came to realize that, "Most of the illegal vice places in Birmingham are efficiently run by the police department. They help in return for a monthly salary. You call it a bribe, but it's too much money to call a bribe. I call it a salary."

He recalled several specific incidents that took place. One time, he was sent into a shot house (a private house that illegally sells liquor) by two White cops. Once inside he was to make a purchase and then report into a hidden radio that the other two cops should "come on in."

He was let off at the corner but by accident he walked into the "wrong" shot house. He made his purchase and whispered "come on in" into the radio hidden in his belt. The officers went to the other shot house first and when they couldn't find Horn there they realized that he must have gone into the other shot house — the "wrong" one because they were being paid off there.

When the cops walked into this wrong shot house, they were greeted by the customers, got Horn, and left without ever making any arrests. Horn says, "Then I began to understand how things worked and when I refused to cooperate, I began to get into trouble."

After nine months as an undercover agent, Horn was finally given some training and put on the streets in a patrol car. But this didn't work too well because he still refused to play the game. As a result he was placed in the Public Relations Bureau of the police department and was supposed to go around explaining to people, especially Black people, how fine a job the Birmingham Police Department was doing. But once again Horn proved that he had trouble fitting in — he told the truth. He says: "When people asked me if there was police brutality, I said 'sure.' I thought that we needed to clean our own house first. The police chief and cops hated me with a passion because I refused to lie. My house was constantly called and I would always check under the hood of my car for a bomb whenever I left the house."

Horn then went on to describe various incidents of specific acts of racism and brutality that he had witnessed: The beating of a

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The Persecution And Assassination Of Martin Luther King

"OPERATION ZORRO"

By Donald Freed And The People's Information Project

The following is Part 2 of "Who Slew The Dreamer? A Speculation," a chapter of the soon-to-be-released "Operation Zorro" — The Persecution and Assassination of Martin Luther King," a perceptive and intriguing account of the right-wing forces at play in the murder of the great Black civil rights leader, written by noted author/researcher Donald Freed and the People's Information Project.





Tombstone of MARTIN LUTHER KING (left) and (below) the great civil rights fighter leads protest march in the rain. Many suspect that his assassination in 1968 was the end result of an extensive FBI harassment campaign.

PART 2

It will not do to talk about the Atlanta FBI office being "out of control"; that is only the current rationalization. Hoover and his general staff, themselves, had been totally "out of control" for decades, of any apparent chain of command in the Executive Branch or Department of Justice. A systematic and predictable agenda of political repression and terror has simply been called "out of control" after its discovery.

The FBI grew out of the great "Red Scare" after World War I. It was the generic descendant of the Burns, Pinkerton, and various other private industrial, anti-union militias formed during the "Gilded Age" of J.P. Morgan, the Rockefellers, and the Goulds.

IN CONTROL

The FBI has been very much *in* control for over fifty years. It has refused to investigate organized crime — in fact, has covered up for such renowned "anticommunists" as Meyer Lansky and Sam Giancana; forged the "Atom Spy Ring" hoax of the fifties in order to justify Hoover's man, Senator Joseph McCarthy; forged evidence in the Alger Hiss case, thus making Richard Nixon the FBI's loyal ally until his election to the Presidency; spent tens of millions of dollars to destroy Martin Luther King and others who dared to preach the Ten Commandments and the Bill of Rights.

For official campaigns of terror to remain hidden there must be an accompanying propaganda diversion. This systematic lying creates what the intelligence establishment calls "deniability." Another dimension of the major assassination conspiracy comes into play. In a way, that may be difficult to understand. What matters most to the planners of a political murder is not so much the identity of the victim but the *perceived identity of the killer* to the public. After all, the aim of a political assassination is not, as in crimes of ordinary passion, to simply do away with a troublesome leader. The goal of a murder of power is to effect a basic and massive shift in the power and the relationship of forces in a society.

The murder of President Kennedy, we now perceive, was planned in such a way as to unloose a thunderbolt of national hatred directed toward a communist-Castroite conspirator. This, in turn, could have led to a domestic crackdown on the "peaceniks" and set the stage for a new invasion, in force, of Cuba, and an escalation of the war in Vietnam. Only part of this came to pass because the Johnson administration, fearing World War III, instantly depoliticized the crime and gave us for twelve and a half years, the lone fanatic fiction.

Within five years, unchecked domestic dissent totally wrecked our Asian war effort. Killing Kennedy had changed nothing, in the long run, only delayed the day of cold war reckoning. By 1968 Richard M. Nixon was running all out on a "peace platform," and soon was drinking toasts in Peking. In that sense, the Dallas conspiracy was a failure, just as the later Watergate affair exploded in the faces of the "Plumbers" and some of their spy masters.

In the matter of Martin Luther King, the aim may very well have been a modern race war, followed by a quick and brutal suppression of the entire rights movement and its antiwar allies.

Political murders are set in motion *only* when no other options remain to a threatened power group, after every weapon of character assassination, as in the FBI plot against King, has been exhausted. Then, and only then, is an infernal killing machine started up that is meant to produce far flung social and political consequences.

Any man or leader is easily replaced, in the political sense; thus, his murder is only the trigger for a major political shift, and for that shift to take place the conspiracy must involve the most volatile passions of the society. The assassination is not the end but the beginning of a new power struggle and alignment; the crime signifies the passage from political to military tactics in a war where the conspirators always represent the weaker force as against the power of a deep and wide popular movement such as was the civil rights/antiwar coalition. So the stealth and violence of the conspiracy symbolizes the loss of political power of a given ruling group. The proof of this axiom, in the King crime, is that by 1976 the Black voter registration, initiated by Dr. King, elected the new President of the United States.

TO BE CONTINUED

BEHIND THE WALLS



Shakur Wins Court Decision

(New Brunswick, N.J.) — Black activist Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) has won the right not to appear in court on Fridays since she is an orthodox Sunni Muslim. A federal court ruled that to force Friday court appearances would be a violation of Ms. Shakur's First Amendment rights. Also, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the Black activist, who has been acquitted in three trials and now faces murder charges, is entitled to regular exercise. Ms. Shakur has been denied all exercise during her nine months of confinement in the basement of an otherwise all-male Middlesex County, New Jersey, jail.

Executions By Drugs

(Oklahoma City, Okla.) — The state of Oklahoma is presently considering a measure that would make it the only state in the country to execute condemned prisoners by the injection of drugs. The state senate's Criminal Jurisprudence Committee last week recommended passage of a bill that provides that future executions will be conducted by the injection of "ultra-shortacting barbiturates with a chemical paralytic." Corrections Director Ned Benton opposed the expenditure of $62,000 to repair the state's electric chair and a proposal to spend $250,000 to $300,000 to build a gas chamber as too costly.

Conn. Inmates Seek Demands

(Somers, Conn.) — After a recent peaceful protest by inmates at the Somers Correctional Institute, the Humane Institution Committee of the Connecticut General Assembly gave the following list of suggestions to Commissioner of Corrections John R. Manson:

- The immediate discontinuance of the use of pick axe handles by guards;
- Inmates should not be left in cells without clothing and blankets;
- The Department should administer psychological tests to all new correctional officers;
- There should be yearly in-depth evaluations of all correctional officers.

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Trial"

In this portion of the chapter "Trial" from Revolutionary Suicide *Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton continues and wins his battle of nerves with Alameda County prosecutor Lowell Jensen (now district attorney) at the celebrated 1968 murder trial in which Huey was falsely accused of murdering an Oakland, California, police officer.*

PART 87

While describing this incident, I really got the best of Jensen. He had been on my right when he first asked the question, and the jury on my left. He wanted me to speak toward him, but I turned my back and began giving details of the incident to the jury, which took a while. Since he had asked the question about the incident, he could not interrupt my answer without looking stupid, so I seized the time and took the play away from him.

JURY FASCINATED

The jury seemed fascinated with my description of the affair and was with me all the way. Jensen obviously go so disgusted with what was happening that he left his position near the clerk's desk and sat down looking very dejected — as I was later told. At any rate, I described the incident fully, leaned back, and turned to my right for Jensen's next question; he was no longer there.

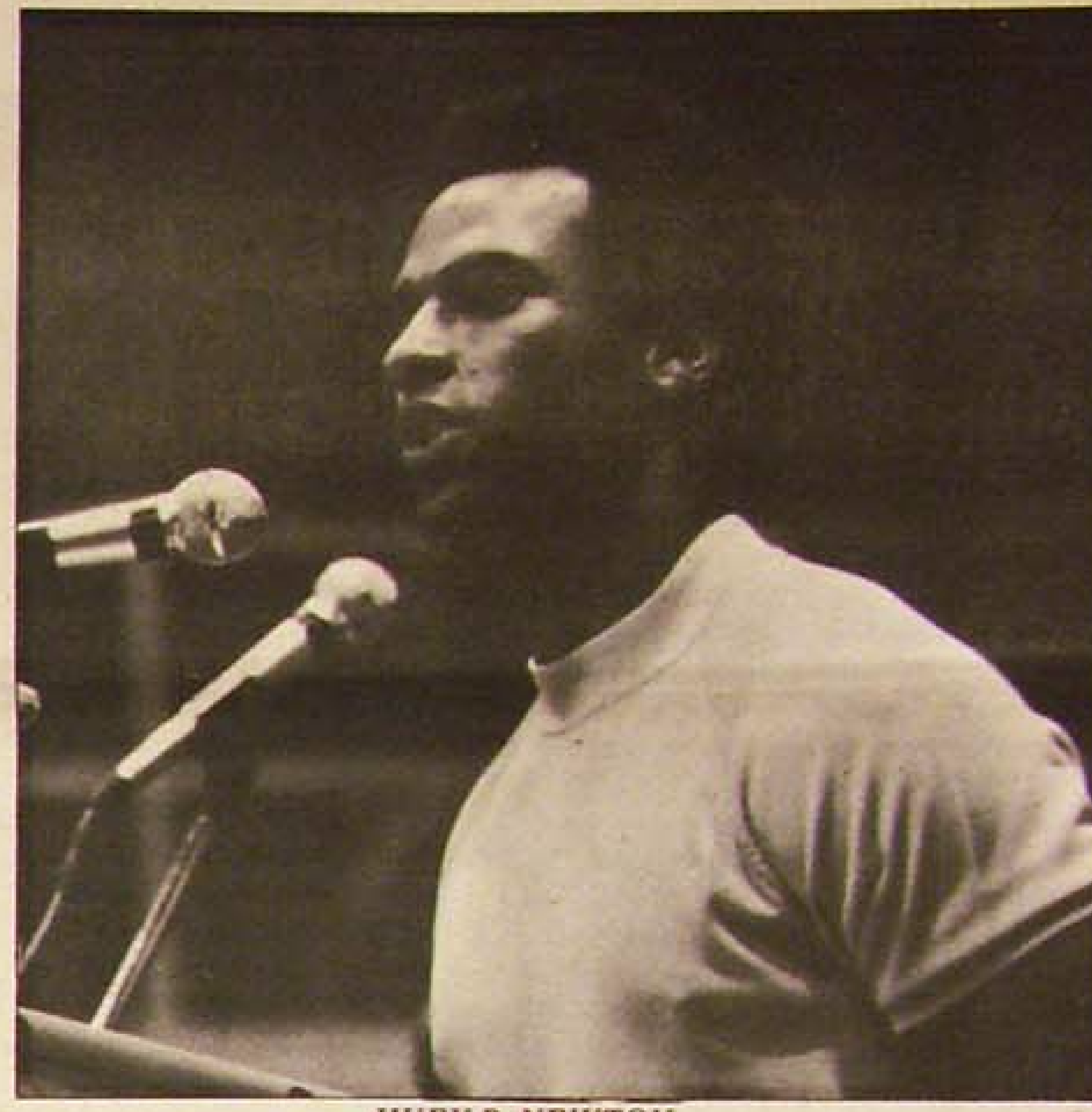
I was surprised at not seeing him where he had last been standing, so I said, "Where is he?" Then I saw him seated at the table, and I smiled at him and said, 'Oh there you are. I thought you had gone home." The courtroom broke up at this, and the judge admonished me.

Much of Jensen's cross-examination had continual reference to official reports and documents, which he kept consulting while I was on the stand. Reading a report that is filed in some record system and stamped with an official seal of approval can be very impressive: the printed page somehow suggests that whatever is described represents the truth, that it faithfully describes what took place. And so, when Jensen brought up official police testimony of what had happened to me in the past — in arrests, in courts, in various trials — he thought he was offering the jury proof of my violent and crime-filled past.

But, far from distressing or embarrassing me, every one of his challenges presented a chance to tell the jury what had really taken place and to describe them in the larger context of what life is like for Black people in this country. In this way, I was able to demonstrate how the police had harassed the Black Panthers and looked for every opportunity they could to arrest us and destroy our organization.

To give Jensen credit, he did not miss very much. But I countered every piece of "official" evidence with an explanation that went beyond words on a page. And I think the jury came to understand that no official document ever contains the whole truth. Events are dictated by a number of mitigating circumstances and a whole system of values and customs that can never be conveyed in print.

Jensen made another mistake by examining some of my speeches and writings and reading into them exhortations to violence. On this tack he quickly got out of his depth: he did not understand the way language is used among Blacks and often took literally what was meant symbolically. Every time he brought up something I had written or said that he thought sounded dangerous, I patiently explained what it meant in terms of organizing the Black community. In this way, I was able to describe to the jury the goals the Party had for Black people. I had hoped to do this — to take the initiative from Jensen and develop certain political points in the courtroom. It was surprising how often I succeeded.



HUEY P. NEWTON

Finally, Jensen got around to the morning of October 28. He came meticulously prepared, armed with photographs and maps, to present his version of what had happened. Leading me carefully through the whole incident, he had me describe my every move and gesture. At one point I was even asked to demonstrate with him how Frey had "smeared" me. He also chose to bring up an encounter that Bobby Seale and I had had with two policemen in 1966, because he believed the event related to the shooting of Officer Frey.

JENSEN'S DESCRIPTION

As Jensen described this incident, I had gotten into a fight with a policeman and had tried to take his gun away from him. If Jensen had been able to prove this, he could have used it as a foreshadowing of what had happened in 1967 and as evidence that I had done the same thing with Frey. I do not know where he got his information, but I pointed out to the court that it was on record that one of the policemen who was hassling us in 1966 had admitted in court that he was drunk when he met Bobby and me. Jensen said, "Mr. Newton, isn't it a fact that you entered a plea of guilty to battery upon that police officer, the man in uniform?" I answered, "I accepted the deal that the district attorney's department offered."

"I see. And you pled guilty to a battery on a policeman?"

"I think it was simple assault."

(Sarcastically) "Is that right? Mr. Newton, did you see anyone shoot John Frey?"

"No."

"Did you see anyone shoot Officer Heanes?"

"No. I did not."

"You have no explanation at all of how John Frey was killed?"

"None whatsoever."

"I have no further questions."

With that, Jensen's cross-examination was completed. It had not gone according to his plan. I had never lost my cool. It was Jensen, in fact, who lost his.

TO BE CONTINUED

Excerpts From "The Political Program Of S.W.A.P.O."

P.L.A.N. TO LIBERATE THE PEOPLE OF NAMIB IA

Before the formation of SWAPO, uncoordinated, anti-colonial activities were expressed in the form of localized strikes against colonial rule and individual petitions to the United Nations concerning the South African racist oppression in Namibia. It was realized that the establishment of a political organization was the most effective way by which the politically conscious elements of our society could come into direct and constant contact with the broad masses of our people to give articulate expression to their problems, aspirations and hopes. Thus, SWAPO was formed on April 16, 1970, as a concrete response to that fundamental need.

Rooting SWAPO firmly in the Namibian society came to be the main task during the early half of the 1960s.

Since the system of contract labor has been and continues to be one of the most blatant manifestations of colonial oppression in Namibia, it was felt essential to initially root the movement in the workers' section of the population. This close identification of our movement with the interests of the toiling masses of Namibian people is one of the main factors which explains the resilience of our movement when compared to other anticolonial groups which emerged in Namibia and have either collapsed or remained paper organizations.

SWAPO had to place the particular problems, such as those of arbitrary residential relocation and contract labor, into the broader context of Namibia's national independence. This was the real beginning of the development of Namibia national consciousness. It brought about new waves of repression against SWAPO. For instance, by December, 1963, the South African government banned all public meetings in Namibia. A score of SWAPO cadres came under severe harassment — dismissals from jobs and schools, and expulsions from urban areas to the countryside.

In the face of these new colonial measures it became necessary to establish a guerrilla network of which the People's Liberation Amy of Namibia (PLAN) — SWAPO's military wing — is today the living expression. Consequently, armed struggle is now the main form in which politics is being expressed in Namibia. It will continue to be the main form of resistance until the following pre-conditions are met:

•South Africa must publicly accept the right of the Namibian people to independence and national sovereignty.

•South Africa must publicly announce that Namibian territorial integrity is absolute and not negotiable in any quarter.

•All political prisoners must be released on Robben Island and elsewhere.

•All political exiles, of whatever political organization, must be allowed freely to return to their country without fear of arrest or victimization.

•South Africa must commit herself to the removal of her police and army and stop using Namibia as a base for aggression against neighboring, independent African countries.

•Any constitutional talks on Namibia must take place under United Nations supervision, and should aim at the holding of free elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control.

To this end, we will continue to fight on and intensify the liberation struggle both politically and militarily in order to oblige South Africa to abandon her design to impose a weak puppet confederation of Bantustans, a confederation incapable of contradicting orders from Pretoria.

Among SWAPO's task are the following:

•To mold and heighten the tone of national and political consciousness of all the Namibian people in the thick of the national liberation struggle.

•To combat all manifestations and tendencies of tribalism, regionalism, ethnic orientation and racial discrimination in order to cement and advance our struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

•To unite all Namibian people particularly the working class, the peasantry and progressive intellectuals into a vanguard party capable of safe-guarding national independence and the building of a classless, nonexploitative society based on scientific socialist ideals and principles.

•To work in solidarity with other national and social liberation movements and other anti-imperialist, progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world with a view to rid Namibia, the African continent and mankind of colonialist and imperialist domination.

ARMED STRUGGLE

Much as we are convinced that armed struggle must now be the main form of our liberation activity we do not beautify war. We see war for what it really is, and extension of politics by other means.

In examining any war, as in social relations, political acts are either just or unjust. We consider our own armed liberation struggle as just and, therefore, deserving support from all the justice and peace-loving people. For where there is oppression, there will always be armed struggle for justice. SWAPO is working towards a universal arming of the people, that is, to transform the armed struggle in Namibia into a truly people's war. The necessary political mobilization to implement this vital aspect of our programme is in motion.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

A deep going socio-economic transformation of the Namibian society depends upon the speedy development of the Namibian productive forces, particularly the development of the skills, knowledge and cultural creativity of the toiling masses. Hence our movement is called upon to embark on:

Urgent training of technical and professional cadres at institutions of technical and higher learnings in different parts of the world as well as the newly established United Nations Institute for Namibia.

Provision for work-oriented functional literacy, that is comprehensive education and training for illiterate and semi-literate adults (with a literacy component built in) at SWAPO schools.

Laying the foundation of a free and universal education for all Namibians from primary, through secondary to university level by training many teachers and educationists.

Developing the people's cultural creativeness as a weapon in the struggle for liberation. The elimination of all tribal or feudal mentality.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

In an independent Namibia, we shall strive for preventive as well as curative medicine for citizens:

There shall be free medical services in an independent Namibia. There shall be hospitals and clinics in every district; nurseries and clinics in every community for workers; health education centers for preventive medicine and family planning; training institutions for medical and para-medical personnel, and rehabilitation centers for the disabled and the infirm.

At present SWAPO aims to strengthen existing clinics in the rear bases as well as to establish new mobile clinics in the operational zones.□



People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) guerrillas and SWAPO chairman SAM NUJOMA (inset). "Much as we are convinced that armed struggle must now be the main form of our liberation activity we do not beautify war. We see war for what it really is, an extension of politics by other means.



6,000 Soweto Students Burn Textbooks In Renewed School Protest

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Singing "We Shall Overcome," some 6,000 Black high school students in Soweto "township," refusing to take their final examinations, burned their school textbooks in huge bonfires last week as they intensified their seven-month-old protest over the grossly unequal educational system provided for Azanians in South Africa.

There were no casualties and only one arrest reported in the February 9 protests at a high school in the Meadowlands district of Soweto where police dispersed 4,000 students with tear gas and 2,000 students at Orlando High School. Classes were cancelled for the day, but authorities ordered all students to be in their classrooms between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m. the next day under a tough curfew in which police said students who were in the streets during these hours would be shot on sight, *Internews* reports.

STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS

Student demonstrators, organized by the Soweto Students Representative Council — the group which led the initial Soweto uprisings last June protesting the forced usage of the Dutch Afrikaans language in the "township's" schools — urged students not to take their final examinations, postponed by last year's protests, because they have not had adequate time to prepare for them. Soweto schools reopened in January. In addition, demands that arrested student leaders be released and that education in Azanian schools be upgraded have not been met by the government.

FIRST PROTEST IN MONTHS

Last week's demonstrations, the first major protests in several months in the sprawling Black city of over one million people just outside Johannesburg, pointed to the continuing strength of the student struggle in Soweto — a struggle which spearheaded several successful job boycotts by Azanian workers last summer as well as a boycott of Christmas in honor of all those killed, injured and imprisoned, mostly children, in last year's rebellions throughout South Africa.

The strong international support that the Azanian people have in their liberation struggle was the major reason why South African police restrained themselves last week and did not arbitrarily open fire on Black demonstrators as is the usual practice. Over 2,000 Azanians were killed by police gunfire last year.

The refusal of Soweto students to take their final examinations, coupled with the Catholic Church's integration of its schools and other institutions (see article, page 19), points to the the growing opposition, both Black and White, the White apartheid regime faces in South Africa. Moving to repress this resistance, the South African Parliament recently proposed a broad bill designed to give the government even stronger powers in crushing future Black uprisings. The Defense Amendment Bill would allow total press censorship, the requisition of military equipment and an expanded draft system. Under present laws, powers of censorship and military draft may only be used in times of war.

"EMERGENCY"

In an "emergency," the bill would allow the president of the country to take possession of buildings, vehicles, aircraft and other equipment needed for the mobilization of the country's army, navy and air force. Also, reservists may be called up more than five times during one year for certain periods. Presently, the draft provides for one year of service, initially, followed by five further periods of 19 days or more.

Another piece of apartheid legislation, the "Good Faith Bill," states that police acting in "good faith" — which the bill does not define — to prevent or control political protests, are immune from civil or criminal prosecution. Due to the large number of civil cases pending against police as the result of last year's protests, the bill backdates the immunity to last June 16, the date of the first demonstration. □

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowlede of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



Zimbabwean refugee village.

STUDENTS JOIN GUERRILLAS

Smith Regime Rocked By New Crisis

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) — Shaken by the defection of 330 Black students in southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) into the armed liberation struggle, "Prime Minister" Ian Smith held a hastily convened meeting last week with South African "Prime Minister" John Vorster as the beleaguered Rhodesian government desperately tries to stall its inevitable fall.

Coupled with the mass student defection, the decision of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to support the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe pinpoints the growing crisis the Rhodesian White minority government faces in maintaining its 11-year-old illegal rule of the breakaway British colony.

The Smith government claimed that the nearly 400 students who left the Manama Lutheran Mission in late January and crossed into Botswana with liberation forces of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) were kidnapped. However, when the youth met with their parents last week in Francistown, Botswana, only 52 chose to return to their homes.

"I do not think I will ever see her again," said Bulawayo, Botswana, clerk Samson Nare concerning his 17-year-old daughter Listanelo, who decided to join the armed struggle. "I really expected my child to go with me," Nare added. "The child is very happy. I do not know what has made her so happy."

A 13-year-old youth, James Makamba, who left with his father, said that he planned to join the ZIPA forces when he gets older.

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"WE ARE NOT CAPABLE OF SUCH INHUMANITY," SAYS MUGABE

ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S ARMY DENIES MISSIONARY MASSACRE

(Maputo, Mozambique) - Declaring that "we are not capable of such inhumanity," Patriotic Front leader Robert Mugabe last week vehemently denied that Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) liberation forces were responsible for the February 6 murders of seven White missionaries at St. Paul's Roman Catholic Mission 37 miles northeast of Salisbury, Rhodesia.

Mugabe, secretary-general of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) — the vanguard Black revolutionary organization, which, along with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), comprises the Patriotic Front — in an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) denounced the killings as "horrible and deplorable in the extreme," *Internews* reports.

He charged that the Selous Scouts, an elite Black unit of the Rhodesian Army, committed the murders in the White minority regime's continuing efforts to discredit the armed liberation struggle spearheaded by the Patriotic Front.

The day after the missionary slayings, which took the lives of two priests, four nuns and one Catholic lay worker, the Patriotic Front issued a statement from Radio Mozambique here which said, in part, "The murders are the latest in a series carried out by the Rhodesian racist forces against the clergy in Zimbabwe."

The Front charged that "the Smith (Rhodesian 'prime minister') regime has every reason to eliminate church leaders" because they live in rural areas where fighting is intense and often eyewitness the brutality of Rhodesian forces.

Mugabe explained that it is not in the interests of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), the military wing of the Patriotic Front, to kill missionaries. The ZANU official explained that ZIPA forces have found missionaries to be generally supportive of their struggle to win Black majority rule in Zimbabwe. Often, Mugabe added, missionaries have provided ZIPA fighters with food and medical care.

Speaking at the funeral service for the Catholic missionaries, a Black priest, Father Isidore Chikore of the Chishanasha Mission where the missionaries were buried, blamed the murders on the Smith government. Chikore said that the White settler regime's repression of the country's 6.3 million Black people is the reason for the armed liberation struggle and therefore, for the killing of the missionaries.



Zimbabwean parishioner is consoled by Rev. Dunstan Myerscough, the lone survivor of a massacre at a Catholic mission north of Salisbury, Rhodesia, carried out to discredit the liberation movement.

The Rhodesian government maintains that ZIPA forces are responsible for the murders and that the 12 men who participated in the incident would be captured alive to prove that they are not part of the Rhodesian Army's Selous Scouts. Last August, Black and White Rhodesian troops with blackened faces, wearing Mozambique army uniforms and singing revolutionary songs, marched into a Zimbabwean refugee camp at Nyazonia, Mozambique, and massacred over 600 people. The Patriotic Front accused the Selous Scouts of committing the mass murders.

On December 5, a lone "guerrilla" killed a retired Catholic bishop, a priest and a nun after stopping their car in western Rhodesia and demanding money — an incident widely believed to have been engineered by the

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PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE LEADS 15,000 AT CELEBRATION CEREMONIES

POPULAR SUPPORT BACKS MERGER OF TANZANIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

(Zanzibar, Tanzania) - Over 15,000 people, led by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and a host of African political leaders, attended a grand ceremony here last week celebrating the merger of Tanzania's Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and Zanzibar's Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) into the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM, meaning the Revolutionary Party) of Tanzania.

The union, under which Nyerere has been elected chairman and ASP President Aboud Jumbe first vice-chairman, cements the political merger of the two former British colonies, (Tanganyika and Zanzibar, joined to become Tanzania in 1964) while strengthening the "struggle against neo-colonialism," as President Nyerere explained in his address.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The new Revolutionary Party of Tanzania "must pay great attention to our economic development," Nyerere said. "It must be vigilant in its care of our political institutions. . .and ensure that all are protected from the intrigues of the imperialists and neocolonialists."

The Tanzanian leader added: "The task of CCM is to lead the



Tanzania's people's armed forces on parade.

people in protecting the sovereignty and national integrity of their country; to lead Tanzanians in their cooperation with their fellow Africans for the total liberation and unity of Africa; to lead Tanzanians in their cooperation with all other peoples in the struggle for justice and peace throughout the world."

Once the center for the African slave trade, Zanzibar won its independence from Britain in 1963. The next year the ASP overthrew the ruling sultan, established a leftist "People's



Republic" and three months later united with Tanganyika, its neighbor on the mainland 23 miles away, to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

Amid the relics of the slave trade (banned in 1875), and the strong scent of cloves, its major

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ETHIOPIAN LOSSES MOUNT IN 15-YEAR WAR

Eritrean Liberation Struggle Approaches Victory

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) — After a 15-year armed liberation struggle against Ethiopia — the longest war in African history — victory is near at hand for the people of Eritrea.

The military forces of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the Popular Liberation Front (PLF) have scored a number of decisive victories against Ethiopian troops within the last several months. Faced with mounting political trouble at home (see Africa in Focus, this page), the Ethiopian government has all but given up hope that it can defeat the Eritreans, the *Los Angeles Times* reports.

Eritrea was an Italian colony from the late 19th century until British forces defeated the Italians in Ethiopia in 1941. Britain then became the colonial power until 1952 when the United Nations approved Eritrea's federation with Ethiopia, an action strongly opposed by the Eritrean people. In 1962, the government of late Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie proclaimed the end of the federation and Eritrea was absorbed as one of Ethiopia's 14 provinces. Immediately afterwards, the Eritrean armed liberation struggle was launched.

Eritrea is extremely valuable to Ethiopia as Eritrean territory



In recent months, Eritrean guerrillas, numbering 25,000 to 30,000, have overrun several Ethiopian outpost.

contains the only two ports available to Ethiopia, the cities of Assab and Massawa which are located in northern Eritrea.

RECENT MONTHS

In recent months, ELF and PLF liberation forces — numbering 25,000 to 35,000 — have overrun several Ethiopian military outposts along the Sudanese border, shooting down numerous warplanes and killing more than 1,000 enemy soldiers, the *New York Times* reports. Eritrean forces attacked a border outpost in the small town of Garora, killing some 20 Ethiopian troops. Ninety-six enemy officers and soldiers fled into neighboring Sudan and asked for political asylum.

The Ethiopian garrison of Nagfa in the far northern part of Eritrea has been under attack by ELF and PLF forces for several months. The Eritreans have the enemy pinned down to the point where supplies have to be dropped to the Ethiopians by air.

Africa In Focus

Tanzania And Kenya

Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere said last week that his county has closed its border with Kenya because the latter has "broken up east Africa." The rift between the two countries has contributed to the destruction of the East African Community, an alliance linking Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda in economic and social programs. "Kenya broke up the East African Harbors Corporation, Kenya unilaterally closed down the headquarters of the East African Railways System, Kenya seized a number of ships on Lake Victoria and Kenya has now grounded East African Airways," President Nyerre said.

Uganda

Amnesty International (AI) last week called on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to study gross violations of human rights in Uganda since General Idi Amin took control of the government in a military coup on January 25, 1971. The AI report details the removal of constitutional and judicial rights, with military tribunals empowered to impose death sentences for a wide range of political and economic offenses. The AI report also says that torture is an almost routine practice in certain police and army detention centers.

Namibia

A representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Tuliameni Kalomoh, recently condemned the South African government for intensifying its efforts to install a Black puppet government in Namibia (South West Africa). Kalomoh told a press conference in Dakar, Senegal, that South Africa is attempting to form an interim government in Namibia in defiance of the will of the Black majority population.

Ethiopia

The military government of Ethiopia carried out massive arrests last week in the aftermath of the attempted bloody coup on February 3 in which seven members of the ruling council of government, the Dergue, and three others were killed. They were charged with participating in a rightist plot to eliminate the progressives on the Dergue.

"DECLARATION OF COMMITTMENT" ADOPTED

CATHOLIC CHURCH STEPS UP DEFIANCE OF APARTHEID

(Pretoria, South Africa) - Stepping up its defiance of South Africa's apartheid laws, the Roman Catholic Church announced here last week that Black priests will be appointed to White congregations.

This latest action in integrating the South African Catholic Church is outlined in a strongly worded, 21-point "Declaration of Commitment" that was adopted by the Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference following its week-long meeting here. The bishops proclaimed, "The Catholic Church in South Africa is lagging behind in witness to the Gospel in matters of social justice," the *New York Times* reports.

In a related development, the church condemned police brutality during last year's widespread Black political protests, charing that "seemingly systematic beatings and unjustifiable shootings during disturbances and cold-blooded torture of detained persons" had occurred. Rev. Dominic Scholten told two senior police officers who came to the Catholic Church offices here seeking evidence of the charges that the bishops had "overwhelming evidence" but would only divulge it if witnesses were given full immunity.

Father Scholten, secretary of the Bishop's Conference, reassured the police that, "When it comes to a head, the church will definitely be in a position to produce evidence." He explained that complete details of individual cases brought to the bishops by many of the Catholic Church's 1,200 priests and nuns around the country indicate "one and the same pattern," including "strong evidence" of torture in Namibia (South West Africa).

Catholic leaders, risking persecution and arrest by the South African government, announced last month that previously all-White Catholic schools would be opened to all races. In their meeting last week, the bishops said that churches and church buildings — including 170 hostels, 40 orphanages, 65 hospitals, 150 dispensaries and over 70 other institutions — would also be integrated. In addition, the church said that it would campaign for equal pay for equal work and would attempt to eliminate racially derogatory language such as calling Black South Africans (Azanians) "bantus"



Azanian people protesting the cruelties of life under apartheid.



and adults "boys" and "girls."

Thus far, the church has escaped major retaliation from the White minority regime of South Africa for openly violating the backbone of the structure of the society — the apartheid system of racial segregation. A government official recently told *Time* magazine that the ruling Nationalist Party, still under severe international criticism for its repression of last year's political uprisings, does not wish to risk further unpopularity by interfering with the integration of the Catholic Church, whose 1.8

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RHODESIAN CHROME BAN

Economic Pressures Force U.S. Drive To Repeal Byrd Amendment

(Washington, D.C.) - Bowing to economic and international pressures the Carter administration, under the direction of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, began a campaign last week to repeal the controversial Byrd Amendment — the Senate bill which since 1971 has allowed the U.S. to illegally import Rhodesian chrome in violation of United Nations' sanctions.

Vance, while appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, urged Congress to repeal the Byrd Amendment — named after U.S. Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, who introduced the initial legislation — "as rapidly as possible" and "return the United States to conformity with its obligations under the United Nations Charter."

The Carter administration's drive to repeal the Byrd Amendment, on the surface, is intended as a signal to Black African leaders that the U.S. supports Black majority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and as a warning to the ruling White minority regime that it cannot expect American

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MEETS WITH PRESIDENT NETO OF ANGOLA, LT. GEN. OBASANJO OF NIGERIA

Young Charges Kissinger "Abandoned" Britain On Zimbabwe Peace Settlement

(London, England) — On his way back to the U.S. after a 10-day fact-finding tour of Africa for the Carter administration, chief U.N. envoy Andrew Young critized former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for "abandoning" Britain over the issue of a peaceful settlement to the Rhodesian (Zimbabwean) conflict.

"In a way, the United States was rather unfair to Britain," Young told a press conference at London's Heathrow Airport. "I think the secretary of state, Mr. Kissinger, put a burden on the back of the British and them abandoned them."

Upon his arrival in New York, Young reiterated his charge, elaborating: "I think the British feel we put a monkey on their back. I think they went into the negotiations feeling that everything from the previous negotiations had been worked out and there would be a settlement. But it was not that simple.

Nigerian head of state Lt. General OBUSEGAN OBASANJO listens cautiously to U.S. envoy ANDREW YOUNG.



"I think they (the British) are a little reluctant to get back in the picture until they know what the U.S. policy is going to be."

It was toward the formulation of such concrete U.S. policy toward southern Africa that led Young, the Black chief delegate to the United Nations, to venture out on his first diplomatic mission.

Young first visited Africa's east coast, where he conferred with Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, Zambian President Kenneth Kuanda and several other political leaders, while last week traveling to Nigeria, where, along with discussions with Nigerian head of state Lt. General Obusegan Obasanjo the Black envoy met with Dr. Agostinho Neto, president of the People's Republic of Angola.

Young was the first American official to meet with Dr. Neto since the MPLA (Popular Move-

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Warehousing Society's Casualties

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

Slightly removed from the adult facilities, Napa maintains two children's areas: one for the approximately 150 youngsters between the ages of six and 12; the other for around 150 teens, 13 to 18-years-old.

Within the smaller of these areas, is the ward for the autistic children, who numbered 26 at the time of our tour. (Autism is a form of childhood schizophrenia characterized by acting out and an extreme withdrawal from reality).

None of the children, aged six to 12, in this ward could talk or form meaningful human relations, many were seemingly oblivious to everything outside of their immediate interest.

DAYROOM

In the center of the dayroom, one suicidal youth around seven or eight-years-old sat up in bed, restrained from the waist down, plucking his face. If left unrestrained, for only a moment, a staff person explained, the youth would immediately try to dash himself against something, anything. In fact, he said, restraints only from the waist down were actually a sign of progress — *until recently, total restraints were the order of the day, everyday, all day.* (Following the tour the reporters were told that the chances autistic children will ever learn to talk are about three out of 100).





Life at Napa State Mental Hospital can be a lonely experience.

Here, as in other parts of the institution already discussed, understaffing and a bleak, dreary atmosphere dominated the scene.

Throughout the tour, the perplexing problem which began this series lingered, never adequately answered: *what do you do with approximately 2,000 people who, at any given time, are suffering the most severe behavior disorders in Northern California?*

When this question was raised to respected San Francisco psychiatrist Dr. Philip Shapiro, his frank answer was, "Transform society."☐



World Scope

India

The opposition Janata Party, declaring the coming Indian election "the most crucial that the country has faced since independence," last week published a long campaign platform condemning the "sweeping and draconian powers" exercised by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. "The choice before the electorate is between democracy and dictatorship, between abdicating the power of the people or asserting it," declared the document, which is to be the basis of the opposition campaign. The party platform referred to the state of emergency, which Gandhi recently recently "relaxed" after 19 months, as "a nightmare of fear and humiliation, reminiscent of days of foreign domination."

United Nations

The United Nations' Security Council decided last week to send a three-member commission to Benin to investigate an airborne commando raid on that west African country's major city January 16. Benin's U.N. Ambassador Thomas S. Boya told the Council that a planeload of over 100 armed mercenaries landed at Cotonou and attacked the airport, presidential palace and other objectives before being driven off by the army in a three-hour battle with loss of life on both sides. Boya said "imperialists" and "international money circles" had hired the mercenaries with the aim of overthrowing Benin's Marxist-Leninist government.

P.L.O.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has rejected the visa application of a leading Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) official who had been invited to address a meeting recently in the United States. Sabri Jiryis, a member of the PLO's National Council, was scheduled to address a national conference sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee Inc. in Chevy Chase, Maryland, on the Middle East situation. A state department official said that Jiryis' current application was turned down because it was not U.S. policy to allow PLO officials in the United States on political business.

ENTERTAINMENT

Imani

We must be change
or we must be death
There is no other choice
change is life
The Earth is built on opposites
and the resolutions
of their contradictions
We are opposites
good/bad
pretty/ugly
up/down
life/death
We must be movement
moving to be
fighting contradictions
struggling against death
We must be Life

—Ngoma Ya Uhuru

Little Soldiers

Too many years have pasted by us,
All because we try to protect our young ones.

Telling them lies to turn them the other way,
Simply to save their dead souls.

Moma,
Understand we know where you're coming from,
But love can't survive this way.

We're not blind at what's happening,
We watched Daddy bite his tongue and pretend.

Until the days showed there was nothing to hide,
Fear took his seat.

Now we're not understood by our own,
Fools and criminals we gotta be.

Moma,
Don't get upset by the way we've turned out,
We just want what we never had.

And since they won't hand us our freedom,
Then death will gladly take its place.

See we're tired of being a four-hundred year old nigga,
Lost even to ourselves.

Because of these simple things,
One day I won't come back.

Then go to your other sons,
Wipe the tears from your eyes,
Say,
Here's my Heart,
and a Gun,

Do what must be done,
Little Soldiers.

— Comrade Edwin "Curly" Roberts

PAUL ROBESON TO RECEIVE SPECIAL TRIBUTE AT BLACK FILMMAKERS HALL OF FAME AWARDS





PAUL ROBESON in Dark Sands *(above) and (left) the classic,* The Emperor Jones.

(Oakland, Calif.) - The legendary late Black actor and political activist Paul Robeson will be given a special tribute at the upcoming Fourth Annual Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame presentations — slated to be held this week on Sunday at the Paramount Theatre here — for the dignity and strength he portrayed in his starring roles.

Robeson's best-known film was *The Emperor Jones* in which he portrayed the Black "King Brutus." His role in the 1936 film brought pride and confidence to Black audiences throughout the country.

Yet, Robeson was not just known for his screen roles. He was was an accomplished scholar, an All-American football player, an astounding singer, and as an international humanist, dedicated to the freedom and liberation of all oppressed peoples. In his later years, when his career was peaking, he was blacklisted due to his firm, principled stand against American bigotry, capitalism and oppression.

Robeson was introduced into the film industry by the late famed Black independent film producer, Oscar Micheaux. Robeson starred in a 1924 film titled *Body and Soul*. In its time the film was termed a "race movie" aimed exclusively at Black audiences.

In many of his films, Robeson was tormented by the fact that White producers refused to allow him to appear in roles which were not subservient to White "stars." In one movie in which the director had changed many scenes without his knowledge — *Tales of Manhattan* — Robeson joined angry Black crowds in picketing the film.

In another film, *Sanders of the River*, in which he saw his intentions of promoting African culture distorted into a glorification of colonialism, he stormed out of a special preview in protest.

Yet, in *Emperor Jones*, Robeson was able to project a strong Black man who rises from Pullman porter to the king of a Caribbean island, refusing to bow to anyone, White or Black.

Eventually Robeson refused to accept any more film roles and in 1942 he narrated *Native Land*, a film based on a U.S. Senate Civil Liberties Committee report on civil rights violations. The film created a slight uproar during World War II and brought Robeson's name to the attention of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The victim of "red-baiting," Robeson's name was associated with the Communist Party and he was forced out of the theater and stage. This repressive and racist act, however, contributed to Robeson's legendary status as many believe he would have become known as one of this country's greatest entertainers of all time.

Robeson died on January 23, 1976, at the age of 77 in his Philadelphia home. When he is honored by the Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame at Oakland's Paramount Theatre, it will truly be a fitting occasion as Robeson was a primary force in elevating Black actors from the racist, stereotyped roles which they were receiving prior to his time.

The Black Filmmakers Hall of Fame presentations, now in its fourth year, was initiated to provide an arena in which Black achievements in the cinema, past and present, would get the recognition that has been long overdue.



Economic Pressures Force U.S. Repeal Drive

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economic aid if it continues to defy international efforts to bring majority rule to the breakaway British colony. The U.S.'s six-year chrome trade with Rhodesia has been severely criticized by Black African nations, in particular, and other progressive countries.

SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE

"The symbolic importance of this action (repeal of Byrd Amendment) cannot be over-estimated," Vance told the Senate Subcommittee. Subcommittee Chairman Senator Dick Clark is sponsoring a bill to repeal the Byrd Amendment and he will ask the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to vote on it February 22. The Iowa senator, who predicts that Congress will revoke the bill, is pushing for Senate action before the end of the month.

Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Julius Katz told the Senate Subcommittee that failure to repeal the Byrd Amendment would jeopardize U.S. economic relations with Black African nations as well as the Black government that will inevitably take control in Rhodesia. Katz's main point, that revocation of the Byrd Amendment is in the economic self-interest of the U.S., is, in fact, the major factor in the campaign to repeal the bill much more so than the White House's desire to seek Black majority rule in Rhodesia.

(Under the Byrd Amendment, chrome must be imported from Rhodesia as long as it is imported from any communist nation. In 1975, the latest year for which official figures are available, the U.S. imported approximately 220 tons of chrome in one form or another from Rhodesia, at a cost of over $45 million. During 1976, Rhodesian chrome totaled 17 per cent of all chrome imported by the U.S., according to the State Department.)

CUTOFF OF CHROME

Byrd originally introduced the bill on the grounds that cutoff of chrome imports from Rhodesia would leave the U.S. dependent on the Soviet Union for supply of the strategic metal. However, recent technological advances in the American steel industry, whereby lower quality chrome ore is available from sources outside Rhodesia, has reduced U.S. dependency on Rhodesian chrome.

E.F. Andrews, of Allegheny Ludlum Industries, told the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee that if the Rhodesian ban on chrome is reinstated, the U.S. would have to rely more heavily on South Africa for the metal. If both Rhodesian and South African sources are cut off, Andrews added, America would become dependent on the Soviet Union for its chrome supply. Rhodesia has 67 per cent of the world's reserves of high grade chrome ore and South Africa 22 per cent.

Andrews' testimony represented a major shift in the views of the stainless steel industry on the Byrd Amendment, *Internews* reports. Last fall, Andrews, who does not favor repeal of the amendment, insisted that reinstating the chrome ban would be tantamount to cutting off all U.S. chrome supplies. The views of the Ludlum Industries executive are considered important since he is the chief contact between U.S. corporations investing in Rhodesia and the U.S. government.

Katz told the Senate Subcommittee that the U.S. stockpile of chrome is in excess of estimated needs by 230,000 tons and that private industry's stocks of chrome materials are adequate for six to nine months. □

Popular Support Backs Merger Of Tanzanian Political Parties

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

exportable resource, Zanzibar was aglow with patriotic slogans and colored lights last week for the international celebration.

Militant banners proclaimed: "Our Mother is the Afro-Shirazi Party and Our Father is the Revolution"; "People of Africa and the World Unite"; and "Let Us Show You Our Revolution," as men, women and children strolled down the narrow Casbah-like streets, waving and smiling at passers-by, *Associated Press* reports. As a result of its long-standing involvement in the slave trade, Zanzibar maintains a heavy Arab flair, strongly evident in the architecture throughout the country and in the style of dress.

Meanwhile, on the mainland, in Dar es Salaam, simultaneous celebrations also marked the 10th anniversary of the Arusha Declaration, President Nyerere's philosophical outline for the country's socialist development.

In connection with this anniversary, President Nyerere issued a report reviewing the tremendous, progressive achievements made by the Tanzanian people in 10 years of "national construction through self-reliance," *Hsinhua* reports.

Concerning the development of the country's industry, the report noted that nationalization of industrial enterprises and public services took place immediately after the publication of the Arusha Declaration, adding:

"We have given particular emphasis to the expansion of the



JULIUS NYERERE

enterprises which use our own raw materials. For example, in 1967 hardly any of our cotton was made into cloth in Tanzania: by 1975 we had eight textile mills, capable of producing over 84 million meters of cloth. Sisal production has greatly expanded.

On agricultural production, the report said that since the publication of the Arusha Declaration, Tanzania has placed emphasis on rural development and regarded the expansion of agricultural production as the basis for Tanzania's development.

The report announced that the villagization (Ujamaa) program is now virtually complete in Tanzania. There are some 7,684 villages, the majority of them set up in the past ten years, in the countryside with 35 per cent of the country's population.

On the achievement in education, the report said that in 1957, there were about 825,000 pupils in Tanzanian primary schools and in 1975 the comparable figure was 1,532,000. A big advance has also been made in the anti-illiteracy campaign, it said, adding that over five million people have registered themselves in literacy classes during the five years of the campaign.

Reviewing the achievements in health work, the report said that there were only 40 rural health centers in 1967, and the figure in 1976 has risen to 152. There was also a 200 per cent increase in the number of rural medical aides and a 270 per cent increase in the number of medical assistants. The infant mortality rate has gone down thanks to the development of health services.

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Venezuela

Hernan Ricardo Losano, a Venezuelan now under arrest in Caracas charged with being responsible for the aggravated homicide of 73 persons killed in the act of sabotage against a Cuban jetliner, recently admitted that he had been working for the CIA since 1970. Ricardo and fellow Venezuelan Freddy Lugo are standing trial in Caracas along with two anti-Castro Cuban exile accomplices, Orlando Bosch and Luis Posada Carriles, for the fatal plane crash off the coast of Barbados last October 6.

Cuba

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro said in a recent Swedish television interview that Cuban soldiers will stay in the People's Republic of Angola for as long as they are needed. In the fullest explanation yet of Cuba's military assistance in Angola, Castro said:

•Cuba sent troops in part because the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was already there. "When the CIA's intervention came in Angola — the invasion in northern Angola by troops from Zaire, but above all when regular South African troops invaded Angola... — then I sent Cuban troops into Angola."

•Denied that Moscow had asked him to intervene.

•"We are gradually cutting down our military personnel in Angola and increasing the civilian help."

Two Western-backed groups, the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), are still challenging the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola's (MPLA) control of parts of Angola.

Meanwhile, apparently in response to recent overtures by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Castro praised the election of President Jimmy Carter, in a recent interview by an American reporter broadcast on the "CBS Evening News" program. In a part of the interview omitted in the newcast, Castro said he thought it was possible for normal relations to be established between Cuba and the United States. Castro, in the past, has indicated he wants an end to the U.S. trade embargo and U.S.-sponsored terrorist activities against Cuba.

Martial Arts

Boxing

Although martial artists don't generally like being compared to boxers, there are many useful conditioning benefits to be gained from a closer look at the boxer's training program. Boxing is a related art and science that approaches the aim of the martial artist. The arrival of full contact hand and foot fighting in recent years as a sport has made it necessary that the martial artist conditioned to "tag" fighting and "pulling blows" incorporate the training methods of boxers which demand greater cardiovascular output and conditioning to trauma.

Maximizing one's potential for performance in the martial arts means recognizing when another skill offers the means to improve overall skill and performance. In competition it will show; in the street, it will prove itself a necessary addition to traditional martial arts training.

With the exception of a few, the mystic aura of karate/kungfu has been fast waning as most full contact fighters entering a ring are grossly unprepared mentally and physically for the sport, let alone the combat of a street confrontation. Compared to a boxer who fights between 10 to 15 rounds at three minutes a round, the contact fighter fights only three two-minute rounds. Even with the decreased work load, the martial artist/hand and foot fighter is still far less capable of withstanding the demands of competition.

Karate/kungfu traditionally involves isotonic/anerobic movements and breathing, and this type of action is basically muscle tension with much oxygen required over a short duration. Boxing, on the other hand, is an erobic and aerobic type of activity, requiring much oxygen in bursts and over a sustained period of time. With the advent of full contact sport karate and the shifting of emphasis from a quick 1 step, 2 step type of training, an entirely new athletic endeavor lies before the martial artist.

The best form of endurance is the performance of the event. The aerobic activity of boxing/full contact training has a number of benefits, including increased efficiency of the lungs to process more air with less effort.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE DISBANDED AFTER SELECTING JOHN HENRY "POP" LLOYD, MARTIN DIHIGO

LAST NEGRO LEAGUE GREATS INDUCTED INTO BASEBALL HALL OF FAME

(New York, N.Y.) — A special committee of the Cooperstown, Ohio, Baseball Hall of Fame recently chose Black ballplayers John Henry (Pop) Lloyd and Marty Dihigo for induction, joining other stars from the Negro League who have already been honored by the shrine.

The special committee, which was created in 1971 to honor Black ballplayers who were kept out of the majors by White bigotry, will now be disbanded and many other great players from the Negro League will be forever forgotten.

In its very brief lifespan the committee inducted such greats as Satchel Paige, Josh Gibson, Buck Leonard, Cool Papa Bell, Monte Irvin, Judy Johnson and Oscar Charleston into Cooperstown.

New York Times sports columnist Red Smith commented, "So nine Blacks have been named, and that's a full team, and baseball is tired of doing penance. When the committee has ceased to be, players like Richard (Cannonball) Redding, Rube Foster and Willie Wells will be out in the cold forever."

An indication of how good these players were is that Ty Cobb, called the greatest hitter ever, refused to face the fireballing Redding and would not play in any game in which he was pitching.

Dihigo, a Black Cuban, was a shining example of versatility. In 1938, for example, he led the Mexican League with a batting average of .387 and also led the league's pitchers with 18 victories, two losses and an earned-run-average of 0.90. According to Roy Campanella, "Dihigo was one of the greatest... He was a big man, six feet four or maybe six feet five and about 225 pounds.





ROY CAMPANELLA (above) in action in World Series game and (right) Negro League great JOHN HENRY LLOYD.

"He was a tremendous hitter," Campanella went on, "had great power, could hit for an average, everything. He was older than I was but I batted against him a lot. He was a very good pitcher, a center fielder and a first baseman."

Hall of Famer Monte Irvin commented, "He was just a great natural athlete. He could run like a deer and had a great arm... In Cuba they regarded him as the finest of all Cuban players, and they had major leaguers like Mike Gonzalez and Dolf Lugue.

"Gonzalez and Lugue had dark complexions, but they weren't Black," says Irvin, "so they could play organized ball. Anybody could except a Negro.

"Pop Lloyd was my idol," continued Irvin. "When I was with the East Orange baseball club, my manager, Eppie Barnes, used to tell me about him. Barnes had a short time in the majors with Pittsburgh, but in those days some of the best players didn't play in the majors because they didn't want all the travel. They'd get a pretty good job and play ball two or three times a week and earn more than they could make in the majors.

CATCHER

"You know, Lloyd started as a catcher, and then he was a shortstop and they called him the Black Honus Wagner. Then he played first base. He threw right-handed but batted left."

According to the sketchy records which were kept on Black baseball players, says the *Times*, Lloyd batted .475 in 1911 and .418 in 1923, with his playing career covering 26 years.

"When I was a bat boy" says Campanella, "I saw him playing first base, and later in Baltimore some of the older players told me about him. He was an old man and quite a hitter. His only handicap was he was Black."

In the book *The Black Athlete* by Jack Orr, report the *Times*, an unidentified baseball authority states," If you ask me (who is) the greatest player in organized baseball, I'd say Babe Ruth, but if you mean in all baseball, the answer would be John Henry Lloyd."

Hanrahan Testifies At Fred Hampton Murder Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

(the raid) developed as you know from information provided to our office by two sources."

According to Hanrahan's testimony, and corroborated by previous testimony, at least one of these sources was FBI agent Roy Mitchell, the man to whom informer O'Neal reported directly. All the information received by Hanrahan and the state's attorney's office up until the time of the raid came from Roy Mitchell. This information included the fact that a sawed-off shotgun was in the apartment, which provided part of the rationale for the search.

Why did Roy Mitchell do the search and why did Hanrahan do it? "The existence there of a sawed-off shotgun was a violation of federal law and this was a matter that could have been effective by a search by a federal agency. The search, however, was made on the submission of information by the FBI," Hanrahan testified.

FOOLHARDY

On the stand, Hanrahan charged that it would have been foolhardy to send the officers to search a Black Panther Party apartment without their knowing where they were going. Sgt. Carmody, however, who was interviewed on December 4, 1969, within hours of the raid, and before any public statements had been made by the state's attorney's office, told the press that he had no idea he had been sent to search the Panther apartment.

This same man, who had just returned from a virtual raid on an apartment whose occupants were all BPP members, where two were killed and shots returned, had recently lost a close friend of the family. Several weeks earlier, Dale Rudy, a cop, was allegely killed in a highly publicized shootout between police and BPP members which resulted in the deaths of Spurgeon "Jake" Winters and several police.

Hanrahan has announced he is running for mayor in Chicago's special primary elections in April. Informed sources say he will file his nominating papers on Thursday, February 17. Hanrahan has been soundly defeated by the Black community in every election he has run in since 1969. At the press conference where he announced his candidacy, Hanrahan was asked about the current trial and his role in the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He threw the exclusive which he gave the *Chicago Tribune* on the

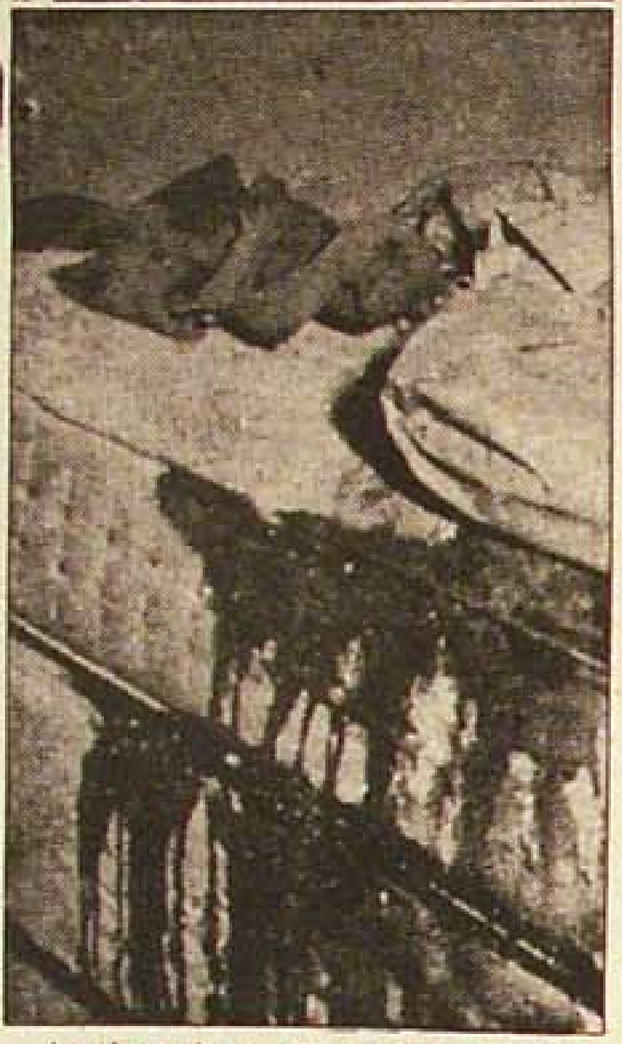


EDWARD HANRAHAN surrounded by participants in Fred Hampton murder raid (right).

morning of December 4, 1969, on the table and said, "You can read the truth in there."

The account of the raid has been thoroughly discredited as lies through previous trial testimony. In court last week, according to Hanrahan's own testimony, the statement was issued after he heard several newscasts and talked briefly to a few of the police who went on the raid.

At this time, Hanrahan had had no opportunity to examine any physical evidence. He had not seen the apartment where the raid took place, and he first saw the weapons allegedly confiscated on the raid just minutes before the press conference and after the exclusive to the *Tribune* was written.



At that time, Hanrahan claims he had no knowledge that officers had taken their own personal weapons on the raid, including a Thompson submachine gun. □

Black Workers

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

4) An end to the arbitrary changing of job classifications, which is done, again, with the purpose of denying Black and minorities supervisory posts; and

5) An open listing of CETA and Earthquake Fund Employees (for monitoring purposes).

Williams stressed that the Black workers feel that their appeal to the district's affirmative action officer and to Black Superintendent Ruth Love have been purposely ignored. Love and Board President David Tucker, a conservative Oakland mayoral candidate, both took advantage of an "emergency" to slip out of the meeting before the Black workers presented their case. Love was particularly singled out by the workers for her total lack of concern over their circumstances.

Concluding their forceful presentation, the Black workers demanded a freeze on the temporary filling of all position openings until an investigation can be conducted by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Sensing the determination of the Black Buildings and Grounds employees, the Board hastily arranged a meeting between the workers and the district's business manager to discuss the serious problems. □

400 Rally To "Free Camp Pendleton 14"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

transferred.

Melvin Richards, a friend of several of the Black Marines in the brig, said the November 13 incident stemmed directly from a previous encounter between some White and Black Marines in a base pool hall. When asked by the Black Marines if they wanted a game, one White responded, "The KKK don't pool with niggers."

BROWNSVILLE RAID

Representing the Black Panther Party, Michael Fultz drew a parallel between the Camp Pendleton 14 and the infamous Brownsville Raid incident in 1906, in which 167 Black Army servicemen were summarily given dishonorable discharges following a racial clash in Brownsville, Texas. (See article, page 5).

"We don't want a check and a flag 66 years from now to drape over the coffins of our all too-soon-dead," Fultz said. "We don't want punishment now, only to have that labeled a 'gross injustice' 66 years later. We know the courts-martial of the Camp Pendleton 14 is a 'gross injustice' today, and we demand their release."

Organizers of the rally announced that they are circulating petitions to President Carter and the Camp Pendleton base commander demanding freedom for the 14, as well as urging the community to write letters to the Congressional Black Caucus seeking their intervention on behalf of the 14 and to end KKK attacks.

In addition, organizers announced a statewide rally to "Free the Camp Pendleton 14" scheduled to be held in Oceanside, California, on April 2. □

Family Looks Back On Brownsville Raid

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

tions" about the fateful incident. The more he answered, said Hardeman, "the more bitter I became about the injustice."

The best job her father ever held after the Brownsville incident and his dishonorable discharge, recalled Mrs. Hardeman, was as a mail carrier.

"He would go to the depot to fetch the bags of mail," she said. "Then his boss found out about the dishonorable discharge. He figured a man with that record wasn't fit to carry the United States mail; so he was fired."

The actual incident occurred only 19 days after the three Black regiments of the 25th Infantry were sent to the small Texas town, which was highly resentful of their presence.

One night a gang of men rode through the town shooting, leaving one civilian dead. Subsequent investigations have failed to establish the identity of a single person involved.

"...WE WAS INFANTRY"

Dorsie Willis commented, "...We was infantry. We never had any horse to ride."

Mrs. Hardeman told the *Times* that her father and mother never revealed any bitterness about the dishonorable discharge, "no matter what they felt.

"It was partly their generation, too — more a feeling that it was totally a White man's world," she went on." The generations that have come since have each rebelled a little more." □

Appeal From N.C. Women's Prison

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

•"Barbara Williams — charged with profane language, damaging state property, participation in a riot, mutiny or insurrection.

•"Glenda Kirkpatrick — charged with profane language, damaging state property, participation in a mutiny, riot or insurrection.

•"Marsha White — charged with profane language, inciting a riot.

•"Majorie Marsh — charged with profane and threatening language, disobeying direct orders and inciting a riot.

•"Shirley Herlth — charged with profane and threatening language and inciting a riot.

MEDICINE CALL

"On Wednesday, February 2, 1977, I was attending medicine call at the hospital with another four inmates of Dorm C. Intentionally, one officer provoked a deal with inmate Elaine Haygood. He continuously made strikes at her, and she asked him to be sure not to put his hands on her.

"The next move: an alarm was blaring and guards were streaming into the hospital. Two moved me to the back so quickly, I lost sight of everything. I stayed back there until the nurse asked where I was. By the time I reached the front, Elaine Haygood was no where to be seen. The approximately 15 officers had her back in isolation. No one need tell me anything about how they got her there.

"In my 46 months of incarceration — I've done approximately 29 to 31 of these months in Dorm C, isolation and security — I have felt the blows of the guards on my head, on my body; and the bruises and blood and scars. So, my concern for Elaine is unexpressible for I know there is nothing these pigs won't do.

"Not long after Elaine was there, they came to Dorm C and took Brenda Collins to isolation.

"The atmosphere present now cannot continue to exist; nor will it! The human body and mind can only take so much. We are women — your mothers, your grandmothers, your sisters, your wives, your children.

"Please take the hand reaching out for your help, because relief is desperately needed. If we continue reaching to no avail, the only solution will be. . . "War Without Terms.' "

Letters to the Editor

REIDSVILLE PRISON: GEORGIA SLAVE CAMP (Continued)

things to the point of exploding. We used to hear that the devil is one who keeps a furnace fired up and when it is time to send a wicked soul in, he blazes the fire up until it is very hot, and he takes the pitch fork and throws that soul into the fire. This is a very good description of the evil nature of this administration, because its way is to excite the forces of destruction, to feed them and build them up.

Most of these physical abuses are never publicized, and, if so, are passed off as nothing serious; so, this manipulation of the news media and public secure their continuous perpetuation. As long as these officers think that they can get away with it they will continue to unlawfully abuse inmates because an ample number of them get some sort of pleasure from subjecting inmates, especially Black inmates, to such abusive treatment. Even those officers who don't physically abuse inmates will more often abuse them mentally by speaking to them in a contemptuous manner. We are imprisoned solely as punishment and rehabilitation — not for brutality and anything else which exceeds the mandate of the court is not permissible.

FOOD CONDITIONS

It is well documented in the U.S. Supreme Court decision, federal and state statutes that all state correctional departments are required to establish, maintain, and provide "adequate sanitary food service facilities and conditions," in such institutional settings. However, here at Georgia State Prison, Reidsville, Georgia, there is a prevalent lack and disregard for the lawful maintenance of sanitary food service facilities and conditions. There are inmates in the number of 250 locked up on administrative segregation (M-Building) that must have their meals confined to their cells. Some of them are two men to one 5'x9' feet cell. Their meals are transported unheated over this open yard area, and as such, are exposed to the outdoor elements and bacteria of human contact. Since such food must be transported unheated over this yard area, it is also generally served cold and unfit for human consumption.

How can an inmate, especially a Black inmate here at Georgia State Prison, rehabilitate himself when his life is in constant danger, and he must work in fields digging up stumps and other work details that have no meaningful and useful training skills that will benefit him when he returns to society. The conscientious inmates of Georgia State Prison (slave camp) believed that money should be spent on strong moral rehabilitative programs instead of more prisons. Money should be spent for the preparation of meaningful and useful jobs and training for all inmates who so desire. All officers should be required to qualify for their position by passing a civil service examination and mentally capable of dealing with men or intelligence.

The way the present prison system is here in Georgia, a man comes out of here worse than he was when he came in. He came in with no training, and with no mental insight of what true life is, and he leaves with no mental outlook of what real living is, unless it's crime. He leaves with only more training in crime and immorality because there is no real rehabilitation for everyone. However, knowing the history of Georgia, we all should know who the privileged inmates are who get the opportunities in this system. The Georgia State Correctional system makes everything sound good to the public and other states. Nevertheless, the true facts lie within the hearts of the inmates' families and those inmates who have been incarcerated here.

Thank you,
Kahlil Yusuf Baa'Ith Ali

Reader's Poll

In honor of Black History Month, throughout the month of February THE BLACK PANTHER will present the following poll to our readers to determine the popular choices for the most significant Black man, Black woman and event in our troubled history in racist America.

•My choices for the most significant man in Black History are

____
(name no more than 3 choices).

•My choices for the most significant woman in Black History are

____
(name no more than 3 choices).

•My choices for the most significant event in Black History are

____
(name no more than 3 choices).

Clip and mail your answers to: THE BLACK PANTHER, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, Calif. 94621.

Ex-Cop Exposes Racism

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

pregnant Black woman by two White cops; the severe beatings by cops of people they were arresting since "the courts will turn them loose anyway and we might as well punish them for the crimes."

Horn ran down incident after incident, not only of brutality but of police murder as well. He told the story of one innocent Black youth, fifteen -years-old, who was shot by cops twice in the back — while trapped in a dead end alley. Despite efforts of the Department to cover this up, Horn dug out the records and reported this incident to the authorities and to the public on a Black radio station. But nothing was done. "And that kid is walking around today with a missing lung as a result of that shooting and no one has been punished."

After four years of service, a Birmingham police officer can take the sergeant's test and one was scheduled for September, 1969. As of August, 1969, Horn would have served four years and he thus began to get ready for the exam. When the authorities learned of this, they moved the test ahead to June, thus making it impossible for Horn to take the test. Horns, "It was then that I decided that Birmingham was still not ready for Black police officers and I resigned."

VICTIMS

In concluding, Horn noted that, "Blacks are not the only victims of police brutality. Whites are also victims, but almost always the victim is poor. Does police brutality exist? Yes, a great deal. The community must protest and come to a brutalized person's defense. When any person is brutalized, we are all brutalized. There has been a long history of people showing interest for a short period of time and then the dust settles and people seem to lose interest. If anything is to be done, we need more than these meetings. We need action."

Horn's report comes on the heels of a murderous year of police brutality in Birmingham and across the country. In December, Birmingham police killed three people in a five-day period. In the past four weeks, Mafundi, a leader of the Alabama prison movement and a vocal, militant opponent of police brutality, has been arrested four times and charged with about 20 crimes — and not one of these charges has any substance.

New Crisis Rocks Smith Regime

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

The meetings between the students and 140 of their parents were supervised by the Botswanan government and observed by the British High Commissioner in Botswana, Peter Rafter, International Red Cross representatives and Burgess Carr, secretary general of the All Africa Council of Churches, based in Nairobi, Kenya.

The mass walkout of the Manama students, which occurred on a rainy night, is widely believed to have been organized by the Patriotic Front, led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. After talking with members of the Front, older students at the school won agreement from the majority of the students that they would leave the school and go to Patriotic Front camps in neighboring Botswana. The students stayed there for a week where they received intensive political education about the necessity for armed struggle in order to win Black majority rule in their country.

The student defection underscores the growing support enjoyed by the Patriotic Front and its military wing, ZIPA, among the masses of Black people in Rhodesia. The mother of a son who chose to remain in Botswana said he told her that he "could get a better education" in the armed struggle.

The OAU Liberation Committee's endorsement of the Patriotic Front is an important diplomatic victory for the Front. The Committee, composed of 22 African countries, is responsible for collecting and distributing military, medical and financial aid to African liberation movements. "It's now a straight fight between us and Smith," a Front official said after the OAU decision. "The other factions have been effectively isolated."

The "other factions" he referred to are those headed by Bishop Abel Muzorewa and deposed Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) leader Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. The OAU decision was a definite setback for the two men who will now find it more difficult to win support from the Zimbabwean people.

The frontline states in southern Africa — Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Botswana and Zambia — which announced their complete "political, material and diplomatic" support of the Patriotic Front last month, also won a victory in the OAU decision, which is expected to be ratified at a meeting of OAU foreign ministers later this month.

Meanwhile, the Vorster government in South Africa has backed the Smith regime's refusal to negotiate with Mugabe and Nkomo. Faced with renewed Black student protests at home (see centerfold article), South Africa believes it has no other choice but to support its Rhodesian ally as the two governments fight a losing battle to retain White rule in southern Africa.



Crowd at Zimbabwean independence rally. The defection of over 300 Zimbabwean schoolchildren from racist Rhodesian in order to join ZIPA liberation forces has plunged the White minority Ian Smith regime into its latest crisis.

Missionary Massacre

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Selous Scouts.

The *Zambia Daily Mail* accused the Smith government of killing the missionaries in retaliation for the defection of some 330 Zimbabwean students from a school in southwestern Rhodesia into neighboring Botswana to join the armed struggle. (See article, page 17).

Father Dunstan Myerscough, a British Jesuit priest and one of two survivors of the incident, said that three of the 12 "raised their guns and opened fire" on the missionaries. Myerscough escaped death by falling on the ground when the firing began. A German nun, Sister Anna Victoria Ereggael, said she was saved by her arthritis. When one of the 12 attackers ordered her out of the television room, she slipped and fell. The man, she said, stole her watch and impatiently left the room.

Church Steps Up Defiance Of Apartheid

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

million members are 80 per cent Black. Last week's renewed student protests in Soweto "township" (see article, page 19) are a clear indication that Azanians plan to intensify their movement to liberate their country politically, economically and socially.

Underscoring the Catholic Church's firm opposition to apartheid, the 21-Point "Declaration of Commitment" maintans: "It is clear that the Black people of the Republic (of South Africa) have passed the point of no return, and no temporary suppression of violence, only a just sharing of citizenship, can give hope of any safety for the children, Black or White, now growing up in the Republic, and prevent the horrors of civil war in the future.

"People starved of freedom, deprived of their just rights and humiliated in their personal and corporate dignity will not rest until a proper balance of justice is achieved. . . .Realizing that South Africa has entered a critical phase in the rejection by the majority of its people of a social and political system of oppression, we add our corporate voice as leaders of the Catholic Church in this country to the cry for a radical revision of the system," the Declaration affirms.

"We again profess our conviction, so often repeated, that the only solution of our racial tensions consists in conceding full citizen and human rights to all persons in the republic, not by choice on the false grounds of color, but on the grounds of the common humanity of all men..."

Internews reports that an unidentified West German organization has offered to contribute $27,000 to replace a cancelled South African government subsidy to the Catholic Church in Namibia which has integrated its schools.

Young Criticizes Kissinger Policies

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

ment for the Liberation of Angola) took power in 1975 and later defeated U.S.-backed reactionaries in the early months of 1976. The Ford administration consistently refused to recognize the Marxist MPLA government because of the aid and troop support it receives from Cuba.

Talking with reporters following the one-hour meeting, held in Kaduna, the capital of northern Nigeria, and arranged by Lt. General Obasanjo, Young said President Neto repeatly broached the subject of normalizing relations between the U.S. and People's Angola, the *New York Times* reports.

"He (Neto) said the Russians were friends, although there are many things they disagreed over, and he couldn't see why we couldn't be friends although there are things we disagree over."

Young said he gave Dr. Neto a noncommittal reply, and then fell into a disagreement over the question of whether armed struggle was the only solution to efforts to achieve majority rule in Zimbabwe.

"TRUST. . .ARMED STRUGGLE"

"He's the first one I've openly disagreed with," Young said, adding, "He (Neto) told me he had trust in the long, armed struggle and the people, and they were eventually going to win."

Young's talks with Lt. General Obasanjo were in marked contrast to the strong anti-American stance Nigeria has adopted in recent years — strained relations which included Henry Kissinger being denied entry into Nigeria on his last three attempts.

With a population of close to 80 million, vast oil deposits and a standing army of some 250,000, Nigeria is the most populous, richest and most powerful Black African country. It supplies 18 per cent of all U.S. crude oil needs and has funneled more than $50 million to Black liberation groups in southern Africa.

Although his talks with Lt. General Obasanjo were described as cordial, Young said the Nigerian leader issued a thinly-veiled warning to the new administration. Young quoted Obasanjo as telling him, "President Carter has said so many nice things, (Secretary of State Cyrus) Vance has said all the rights things and you come bringing all these messages — I'm afraid if you are not able to deliver, things will slide back even further than before."


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